

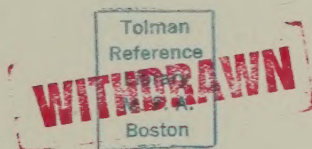




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THREE ESSAYS IN METHOD



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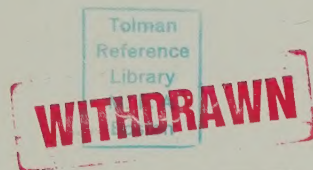
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DOMENICO MORONE: ST. THOMAS AT TABLE OF ST. LOUIS

Château de Ripaille (Savoy), Collection of Mme. Émile Paravicini

THREE ESSAYS IN METHOD

BERNARD BERENSON

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TO THE MEMORY OF
LUCIEN HENRAUX
A FREEMAN OF THE CITY OF ART

ND
67
Art

ND
363

P R E F A C E

THE three articles that compose this book are essays in Method, not essays on Method. In the first, the problem is presented in its simplest form. Given nine pictures by the same hand, try to find where and when it worked, and, if possible, to what artist this hand belonged.

The procedure is the one currently and commonly used in Classical Archaeology, but seldom in the study of Italian Painting. It demands from the student no magical endowments, no temperamental aptitudes, no special senses. It does require, however, in the first place, good average powers of observation, and concentration and reasoning of the kind that the botanist or anatomist is supposed to have. It calls, besides, for training in the historical method, that method which teaches not only how to weigh evidence in subjects concerned with any bit of the human past, but how to recognize what is relevant when it appears, and how to look for it when it hides.

A simpler problem could scarcely be offered than the 'Nine Pictures in Search of an Author'. Only obvious comparisons are made, all quantitative. No appeal to sentiment is used, none to a 'feeling for quality', no 'eye' is demanded. The student is asked to consent to nothing but the axiom that a given work belongs where it finds the greatest number of its kind and antecedents.

The second essay attempts to account for the neglect that an important work by no less a master than Botticelli has

fallen into because we failed to observe that the head-dress of the Madonna was of a later period than the rest of the picture. This once recognized, we can discard the head and deduce the painter from the rest of the work.

The third essay, 'A Possible and an Impossible Antonello', uses the procedure employed in the two preceding essays, but calls to aid iconography, the history of artistic motives, such as the play of the Infant Jesus and the Infant John, and appeals finally to questions whose answers call perhaps for just more than strictly quantitative considerations. It is, however, not likely that the average student will balk at following me into a region of such elementary notions of composition as I invite him to enter.

As these three essays are concerned more with Method than with the works of art and the artists discussed, I have tried to speak only of matters that can be followed in the illustrations. No argument has been based on evidence that does not appear in the reproductions.

It will be appropriate to say a word here about the use of photographs and their derivatives in our studies.

It is pleasant and seemly to be acquainted with original works of art. It is even necessary to know them, if one is required to pronounce whether a given picture is an autograph, a studio version, or a contemporary copy. But for the plainer archaeological purpose of determining when and where and by whom a given design was invented, a good reproduction is enough.

Thus, I have never seen the panel picture discussed in the last essay, and accordingly I never raise the question whether it is an autograph or a copy. I speak of no quality or defect

that does not appear in the reproductions. My conclusions do not call for evidence that the original painting alone might be presumed to supply.

Since the first appearance of these essays in Ugo Ojetti's admirable translations in *Dedalo*, there has been time to become aware that they contain more than a few errors. It would be a matter of not many hours to remove these blemishes and to present a more polished surface. Yet even if the blemishes were serious, I should not wish to hide them. As my purpose is not to show off my own gifts, but to let students into my workshop, I want them to find there not a series of select exhibits, but a man at work. Now a man cannot work without shortcomings. That is left for automata; and automatism is not scholarship. Scholarship necessarily abounds in error. An advantage of the method pursued in these essays is that its errors are not only easily exposed and corrected, but cannot raise defence that does not render the defendant ridiculous. We are all liable to understatement, to overstatement, to misstatement, to temporary aberrations, to momentary amnesia. Even the most severely quantitative science adopts trial and error as its avowed method. When the error is pointed out by others, or discovered by ourselves the morning after, we have no thought but of correcting it. No appeal to authority, to intuition, to inspiration, to 'eye', to accumulated experience, counts against manifest fact.

The aim of these essays is thus to canalize guessing, so to speak. In the beginning was the guess, no doubt. But there is pre-scientific and post-scientific guessing, and we now are in the later phase, even in the study of art. Until

the student has exhausted all the devices of scholarship, he has no right to rely on his guess, and his guess is not even honourable if he has not submitted it to all the attacks of destructive criticism. To publish every guess that passes through one's head is doing a poor service to learning. Even if once in ten times the guess is fruitful—and to hit once in ten times requires genius—nine times out of ten one is gratuitously scattering false doctrine, and nothing is harder to weed out. The good pupil, who is so highly esteemed as a teacher because he never presumes to utter a word for which he has no printed authority, the sly plagiarist, the popular lecturer, the higher journalist, will spread the uninformed guess—*teste David cum Sibylla*—for decades after the first disseminator has learned better.

The difference between pre-scientific and post-scientific guessing is that the first believed in magic and relied on inspiration, while the second calculates. The calculation seldom turns out right at first. The instrument—in this case the investigator—needs further sharpening, and the data a more critical interrogation. Sooner or later the satisfactory result will be reached.

The tendency of this book should be to lead the study of art—at least in these rudimentary phases which are concerned with the attribution of single works to their authors and the reconstruction of artistic personalities from the grouping of these works—out of the hocus-pocus into the unpicturesque but fruitful fields of fact and calculation, so that critics may ultimately exercise their activities on a line with the astronomer and the chemist, rather than with those of the astrologer and the alchemist; or, if that be too

ambitious, with those at least of the philologer of to-day compared with what he was in the time of Voltaire.

If the reader of these essays gets a liking for the way the subject is handled and desires to read more of the same kind, he will find more in my *Venetian Painting in America* (New York, Sherman), in the third series of my *Study and Criticism of Italian Art* (London, Bell), and in a study on two Italian illuminated manuscripts of the *Speculum Humanae Perfectionis*, which I hope to republish before long in English; this has hitherto appeared in Italian only, in the February and March issues of the *Bollettino del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*.

Thanks are due to R. C. Trevelyan for helping me to disentangle my over-Continentalized English; to Ugo Ojetti, not only for the translations, which made me feel as if I had written these essays in Italian, but for valuable assistance in placing the illustrations. Even greater thanks are given to my constant and indispensable collaborators, my wife and our Secretary, Miss Nicky Mariano. Nor can I forbear to praise the careful proof-reading of my publisher, and the skilled criticism and assistance of Charles Bell.

TAORMINA,

29 April 1926.

CONTENTS

I

NINE PICTURES IN SEARCH OF AN ATTRIBUTION	I
---	---

II

A NEGLECTED ALTAR-PIECE BY BOTTICELLI . . .	75
---	----

III

A POSSIBLE AND AN IMPOSSIBLE 'ANTONELLO DA MESSINA'	87
--	----

APPENDIX: THE INFANT JOHN IN VENETIAN PAINTING	133
---	-----

INDEX OF ARTISTS	137
----------------------------	-----

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Domenico Morone: St. Thomas at Table of St. Louis	<i>Frontispiece</i>
<i>Château de Ripaille (Savoy), Collection of Mme Émile Paravicini.</i>	
1. Domenico Morone: Birth of St. Thomas	<i>facing 2</i>
<i>New Haven, Conn., U.S.A., Farves Collection.</i>	
2. Domenico Morone: St. Thomas between SS. Peter and Paul	3
<i>New York, Metropolitan Museum</i>	
3. Domenico Morone: Vision of Fra Paolino of Aquila	4
<i>Paris, Chalandon Collection</i>	
4. Domenico Morone: St. Thomas disputing; Christ gives His approval from the Altar	5
<i>Paris, Chalandon Collection</i>	
5. Domenico Morone: Miracle of St. Dominic	6
<i>New York, Metropolitan Museum</i>	
6. Domenico Morone: Preaching of St. Thomas	7
<i>Rome, Baron Michele Lazzaroni</i>	
7. Domenico Morone: Baptism of Christ	8
<i>Paris, M. F. Kleinberger</i>	
8. Domenico Morone: Feast of Herod	9
<i>Paris, M. F. Kleinberger</i>	
9. Domenico Morone: Preaching of St. Vincent Ferrer	10
<i>Oxford, Ashmolean Museum</i>	
10. Catalan-Valencian, Fifteenth Century: Altar-piece of St. Vincent Ferrer	11
<i>Naples, S. Pietro Martire</i>	
11. Cathedral of San Miniato al Tedesco	14
12. S. Anastasia, Verona	14
13. Cima da Conegliano: Detail from Presentation of Virgin	15
<i>Dresden Gallery</i>	
14. Titian: Detail from Presentation of Virgin	15
<i>Venice Academy</i>	
15. Vittore Belliniano: Detail of Martyrdom of St. Mark	16
<i>Formerly Vienna Academy, now Venice</i>	

16. Lazzaro Bastiani(?): Martyrdom of Saint	<i>facing</i>	17
<i>Philadelphia, F. G. Johnson Collection</i>		
17. Domenico Morone: Battle in the Cathedral Square of Mantua and Expulsion of Bonacolsi	<i>between</i>	18 and 19
<i>Mantua, Ducal Palace</i>		
18. Studio of Paul Veronese: Martyrdom of SS. Primus and Felician	<i>facing</i>	20
<i>Padua Museum</i>		
19. Liberale da Verona: St. Sebastian		21
<i>Milan, Brera</i>		
20. Antonio Badile: Detail of Madonna and Saints		22
<i>Verona Museum</i>		
21. Liberale da Verona: Detail of Death of Dido		23
<i>London, National Gallery</i>		
22. Francesco Morone: Samson and Delilah		24
<i>Milan, Poldi-Pezzoli</i>		
23. Francesco Morone: Betrothal		25
<i>Berlin Gallery</i>		
24. Montagnana: Detail of Annunciation		26
<i>Padua, Bishop's Palace</i>		
25. Girolamo dai Libri: Death of the Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani		27
<i>Formerly in Schweitzer Collection, Berlin</i>		
26. Domenico Veneziano: Miracle of St. Zanobius		28
<i>Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum</i>		
27. Domenico Ghirlandajo: Detail of Miracle of St. Francis		29
<i>Florence, S. Trinità</i>		
28. Ercole Roberti: St. Jerome		30
<i>Ferrara Gallery</i>		
29. Giovanni Bellini: Portrait of a Gonzaga		31
<i>Bergamo, Carrara Gallery</i>		
30. Venetian: Coloured woodcut		31
<i>From the Edition of 1500 of Ketham</i>		
31. Piero Pollajuolo: Profile of Woman		32
<i>Florence, Uffizi</i>		
32. Benozzo Gozzoli: Miracle of St. Dominic		32
<i>Milan, Brera</i>		

List of Illustrations

xvii

33. Mantegna: Detail of Nativity	<i>facing</i> 33
<i>New York, Mr. Clarence Mackay</i>	
34. Domenico Morone: Christ on Cross	34
<i>London, Mr. A. L. Nicholson</i>	
35. Domenico Morone: King receiving Youthful Ambassador	35
<i>London, Mr. Durlacher</i>	
36. Altichiero: St. George	36
<i>Padua, Oratorio di S. Giorgio</i>	
37. Liberale da Verona: Graduale 10, Fol. 73.	37
<i>Siena, Piccolomini Library</i>	
38. Domenico Morone: Detail of Miracle of St. Dominic	37
<i>New York, Metropolitan Museum</i>	
39. Girolamo dai Libri: St. Peter	38
<i>London, National Gallery, Mond Bequest</i>	
40. Marco Zoppo: Pen Drawing—Madonna and Saints	39
<i>Brunswick Museum</i>	
41. Girolamo da Cremona: Poppaea giving Alms to St. Peter	40
<i>London, Mr. L. Clarke</i>	
42. School of Cossa: Death of Knight of Celano	41
<i>Pesaro, Municipal Gallery</i>	
43. Florentine, close to Carrand Master: Fresco—Presentation of Virgin	42
<i>Lucca, S. Francesco</i>	
44. Domenico Morone: Preaching of St. Peter Martyr (?)	43
<i>Vienna, Este Gallery</i>	
45. Domenico Morone: Priest addressing a Kneeling Woman	44
<i>Vienna, Este Gallery</i>	
46. Domenico Morone: Saint receiving Monk	45
<i>Vienna, Este Gallery</i>	
47. Domenico Morone: Miracle of St. Vincent Ferrer	46
<i>Vienna, Este Gallery</i>	
48. Domenico Morone: Tournament	47
<i>London, National Gallery</i>	
49. Domenico Morone: Saint healing the Sick	48
<i>Vienna, Este Gallery</i>	
50. Domenico Morone: a Procession	49
<i>Vienna, Este Gallery</i>	

51. Veronese, late Fifteenth Century : Youth saluting King	<i>facing</i> 50
<i>Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., Fogg Museum</i>	
52. Veronese, late Fifteenth Century : A Decapitation	51
<i>Formerly belonging to M. Alphonse Kann, Paris</i>	
53. Domenico Morone : St. Vincent Ferrer baptizing two Jewesses	52
<i>Vienna, Este Gallery</i>	
54. Francesco Benaglio : S. Bernardino Triptych	53
<i>Verona, S. Bernardino</i>	
55. Domenico Morone : Tournament	54
<i>London, National Gallery</i>	
56. Domenico Morone (?) : Madonna of the Fan	55
<i>Verona Museum</i>	
57. Domenico Morone : Madonna	56
<i>Paris, Musée André</i>	
58. Domenico Morone : Madonna	57
<i>Paris, Chalandon Collection</i>	
59. Domenico Morone : Madonna	58
<i>Lovere, Tadini Gallery</i>	
60. Domenico Morone : Madonna	59
<i>Philadelphia, Widener Collection</i>	
61. Domenico Morone : Madonna	60
<i>Berlin Gallery</i>	
62. Butinone-Zenale : SS. Lucy, Catherine, and Mary Magdalen	61
<i>Detail of Polyptych at Treviglio</i>	
63. Domenico Morone : Holy Family	62
<i>Altenburg Museum</i>	
64. Domenico Morone : Detail of Fresco—Madonna and Angels	63
<i>Verona, Library of S. Bernardino</i>	
65. Domenico Morone : Purification of Virgin	64
<i>Chalais, Musée André</i>	
66. Domenico Morone : Three Scenes from Legend of St. Blaise	65
<i>Vicenza Gallery</i>	
67. Gentile Bellini : Adoration of Magi	66
<i>London, National Gallery, Layard Bequest</i>	
68. Domenico Morone : Fresco—Madonna, Saints, and Donors	67
<i>Verona, Library of S. Bernardino</i>	

List of Illustrations

xix

69. Domenico Morone: Madonna and Dead Christ	<i>facing</i> 68
<i>Formerly in Nosedà Collection, Milan</i>	
70. Domenico Morone: St. Antony of Padua	69
<i>Detail of Paladon Frescoes now in Verona Museum</i>	
71. Domenico Morone: St. Claire and Female Donor	70
<i>Verona, Detail of Fresco in Library of S. Bernardino</i>	
72. Botticelli: Madonna and Saints	75
<i>Florence Academy</i>	
73. Botticelli: Detail of Picture in Florence Academy	76
74. Botticelli: Head of Virgin	77
<i>Detail of picture in Florence Academy</i>	
75. Raffaellino del Garbo: Madonna with Infant John	78
<i>Dresden Gallery</i>	
76. Filippino Lippi: Holy Family and St. Catherine	79
<i>Lewes, Warren Collection</i>	
77. Filippino Lippi: Madonna and Angels	80
<i>Berlin Gallery</i>	
78. Filippino Lippi: Meeting of Joachim and Anne	81
<i>Copenhagen Museum</i>	
79. Filippino Lippi: Details from Frescoes of the Strozzi Chapel	82
<i>Florence, S. Maria Novella</i>	
80. Antonio da Viterbo: Madonna and Saints	83
<i>New York, Friedsam Collection</i>	
81. Perugino: Madonna, Saints, and Angels	84
<i>Paris, Louvre</i>	
82. Perugino: Madonna and Two Saints	85
<i>Vienna Gallery</i>	
83. Perugino: a Sibyl	<i>between 86 and 87</i>
<i>Perugia, Sala del Cambio</i>	
84. Perugino: a Sibyl	" "
<i>Perugia, Sala del Cambio</i>	
85. Botticelli: Head of the Magdalen	" "
<i>Detail of picture in Florence Academy</i>	
86. Botticelli: Head of St. Catherine	" "
<i>Detail of picture in Florence Academy</i>	

87. Workshop of Botticelli: Madonna <i>Lockinge (Berks.), Loyd Collection</i>	between 86 and 87
88. Workshop of Botticelli: Madonna <i>Paris, Collection of Baron Michele Lazzaroni</i>	" "
89. Workshop of Botticelli: Madonna <i>Formerly at M. Decok's, Paris</i>	" "
90. Botticelli: Detail from 'Primavera' <i>Florence, Uffizi</i>	" "
91. Botticelli: Reconstruction of Florence Academy Picture with Heads of Virgin and Child from Lockinge Picture	" "
92. Antonello da Messina: St. Sebastian <i>Museo Civico, Verona</i>	<i>facing</i> 87
93. Head of a Statue of Ti (about 2600 B. C.) <i>Cairo Museum</i>	88
94. Head of the Angel Gabriel. XIIth century <i>Toulouse Museum</i>	88
95. Antonello da Messina: Detail of St. Sebastian <i>Museo Civico, Verona</i>	89
96. Antonello da Messina: St. Sebastian <i>Dresden Gallery</i>	90
97. Antonio de' Saliba: Pietà <i>Venice, Museo Civico</i>	91
98. Antonello da Messina: Archers—Detail of St. Sebastian <i>Verona, Museo Civico</i>	92
99. Antonello da Messina: Annunciation <i>Syracuse Museum</i>	93
100. Attributed to Antonello da Messina: Madonna and Infant John	94
101. Giovanni Bellini: St. Justine <i>Milan, Bagatti Valsecchi Collection</i>	95
102. Antonello da Messina: Madonna <i>London, Benson Collection</i>	96
103. Lorenzo Lotto: Portrait of Young Man <i>Bergamo, Carrara Gallery</i>	97
104. Leonardo da Vinci: Drawings for a Nativity <i>New York, Metropolitan Museum</i>	102

List of Illustrations

xxi

105. Francesco Botticini: Nativity <i>Florence, Pitti</i>	facing 103
106. Follower of Cosimo Rosselli: Nativity <i>Formerly in Aynard Collection, Lyons</i>	103
107. Follower of Piero di Cosimo: Madonna with St. Catherine <i>Breslau Gallery</i>	106
108. Studio of Botticelli: Madonna with Infant John <i>Rome, Borgese Gallery</i>	106
109. Studio of Botticelli: Madonna with Infant John <i>Formerly in Sulzbach Collection, Paris</i>	107
110. Studio of Botticelli: Madonna with Infant John <i>Florence, Pitti</i>	108
111. Studio of Botticelli: Madonna with Infant John <i>Paris, Dreyfus Collection</i>	108
112. Francesco Botticini: Madonna with Infant John <i>Boston, U.S.A., Fenway Court</i>	109
113. David Ghirlandajo (?): Madonna with Infant John <i>Vienna, Herr Stefan von Aspitz</i>	112
114. Copy of Filippino Lippi: Nativity <i>Lille Museum</i>	113
115. Piero di Cosimo: Madonna with Infant John <i>Glasgow, Beattie Collection</i>	113
116. Leonardo da Vinci: Drawing <i>Windsor, The King's Library</i>	114
117. Lorenzo di Credi: Madonna with Infant John <i>Dresden Gallery</i>	114
118. Lorenzo di Credi: Madonna with Infant John <i>Rome, Borgese Gallery</i>	115
119. Mainardi: Madonna with Infant John <i>Philadelphia, Johnson Collection</i>	116
120. Franciabigio: 'La Madonna del Pozzo' <i>Florence, Uffizi</i>	117
121. Signorelli: Madonna <i>Florence, Uffizi</i>	118
122. Michelangelo: 'La Madonna Doni' <i>Florence, Uffizi</i>	119

123. Raphael: Drawing	. . . . .	<i>facing</i> 120
<i>Vienna, Albertina</i>		
124. Raphael: Drawing	. . . . .	121
<i>Lille Museum</i>		
125. Raphael: 'Madonna di Casa Alba'	. . . . .	122
<i>Petrograd, Hermitage</i>		
126. Giovanni Bellini: Madonna	. . . . .	123
<i>Formerly in Oldenburg Gallery</i>		
127. Francesco Tacconi: Madonna	. . . . .	124
<i>London, National Gallery</i>		
128. Cima da Conegliano: Madonna	. . . . .	125
<i>Richmond (Surrey), Cook Collection</i>		
129. Catena: Drawing, Madonna and Infant John	. . . . .	126
<i>Vienna, Albertina</i>		
130. Francesco da Santa Croce: Annunciation	. . . . .	127
<i>Bergamo, Carrara Gallery</i>		
131. Previtali: Madonna with Infant John	. . . . .	128
<i>Dresden Gallery</i>		
132. Cristofano da Parma: St. James, from a Panel formerly in the Crespi Collection	. . . . .	129
<i>Milan</i>		
133. Cristofano da Parma: The Baptist	129
<i>Detail from panel in the Carrara Gallery, Bergamo</i>		

NOTE

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*NINE PICTURES IN SEARCH
OF AN ATTRIBUTION*

NINE PICTURES IN SEARCH OF AN ATTRIBUTION

I HAVE had it for some time on my mind to write down, for once, what is implied in the verb, 'I attribute', 'he attributes'. I have neither the leisure nor the patience to spin it out into the minutest threads. That kind of systematic treatise must be left to the successors of Benedictine industry, who flatter themselves that because they are exhaustive they are also scientific. My aim is a humbler one. It is to tell younger men what an old explorer like myself has to do when he starts out to find the author of a work of art.

As in hunting, it is a matter of tracking the quarry to his lair, of following the scent. I shall attempt to show the various twists and turns we must make in following it, what we must do to pick it up again where we have lost it, and how we may make sure that it is the right scent and not a wrong one. I shall avoid displays of craft and cunning, and refrain from piling up confusing and distracting directions. I shall, for instance, ignore the geology and climatology, as well as the economic, sociological, and political conditions prevailing in the scene of our chase. I shall not so much as offer a monograph on the natural history of foxes in general, nor any biography of this particular fox, supported, in the manner of many writers on art, with the pomp and circumstance of documents and letters, mostly irrelevant. Perhaps the quarry may not be worth the pains expended in pursuit, but I, for one, love the sport. Only one must enjoy it for no utilitarian or pretentious reason, but for its own sake and because it exercises eyes, mind, and judgement.

For an even longer time than I have had it on my mind to write an *Attributor's Progress*, I have had it on my conscience to try to discover the author of nine panels with which I became acquainted one after the other. Except by myself, all nine have never hitherto been recognized as being by the same hand. The three or four that have received attention have been attributed, as the obscurer works of art are apt to be, in the wildest ways.

It occurs to me that both the calls, the one on my mind as well as the one on my conscience, might be satisfied by taking these panels as the material for an *Essay on Method*. Instead of a series of abstract propositions, with postulates and corollaries to overawe the student, he shall have the story of an adventure. But I shall be careful not to excite him too violently. The search for the author of nine pictures cannot be as breathless as Loti's for *Aziade*. And yet it is so fascinating that one must exercise a certain amount of self-restraint, and not allow it to become too dramatic. We are urged to a more modest course not only by the gravity of our profession as connoisseurs of works of art, but by the risk of making ourselves ridiculous as plagiarizers of Pirandello. We must show how studious and dispassionate we can remain even in the keenest moments of the quest.

Let us first become acquainted with each of the *dramatis personae*, with each of the nine pictures in search of an attribution.

I

Five of these designs deal with the life and legend of St. Thomas Aquinas. We begin with the one recounting the story of his infancy (fig. 1). In the courtyard of a palace, in front of a piece of tapestry hung low on the wall, to one side of a flight of steps, sits a woman, whose gestures,



FIG. 1. DOMENICO MORONE: BIRTH OF ST. THOMAS

New Haven, Conn., U.S.A., Farves Collection



FIG. 2. DOMENICO MORONE: ST. THOMAS BETWEEN SS. PETER AND PAUL
New York, Metropolitan Museum

encountering the gestures of a woman facing her, are manifestly concerned with the naked infant sprawling on a carpet.¹ In the middle distance the same infant is being washed. As it was only at birth and death that, between Classical Antiquity and our own time, a European was sure of a complete bath, we may plausibly assume that the child has just been born. But as a halo hovers over him, and as he is playing with a bit of cardboard on which we read the greeting to Our Lady, AVE MARIA GRATIAE, we infer that the infant came to life as a Saint, dedicated from the cradle to the worship of the Blessed Virgin, and that his miraculous calling was recognized from the first. It is clear that the woman who washes the infant sees the card in his hand, while the ladies in the foreground are talking together over his playing with it. The shy young friar standing at the bottom of the steps is aware of it, and the saucy maid peeps through the window to see the wonder. An old mendicant walking up the stairs congratulates the dame in the doorway, who, with clasped hands, is praising the Lord.

The painter has followed a version of the legend not unlike the one given by Ribadeneira in his *Flos Sanctorum* (Venice, 1763, presso Niccolò Pezzana, vol. i, p. 192):

‘Volendo una volta la balia che lo allattava fasciarlo, trovò che il benedetto fanciullo teneva stretta in mano una polizza, e volendogliela torre, per meglio poterlo fasciare, si mise il bambino a piangere sì agramente, che fa forza di lasciargliela, e cavandogliela poi la madre di mano, e spiegenderla, vi trovò scritto, AVE MARIA, e perchè egli piangeva

¹ Jarves Collection, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A., no. 41, H. 44 cm., W. 33 cm. The carpet has the phoenix and dragon pattern supposed to represent the Ming arms, that up to the present has been found in but one other Italian painting, namely in Domenico di Bartoli's fresco representing the Marriage of the Foundlings, in the Scala Hospital at Siena. A fragment of a carpet with this design may be seen in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, and has been frequently reproduced, e. g. Bode, *Vorderasiatische Knüppteppiche*, figs. 63 and 64; Neugebauer and Orendi, *Handbuch der orientalischen Teppichkunde*, p. 9; Diez, *Die Kunst der islamitischen Völker*, fig. 266; Griffith Lewis, *The Practical Book of Oriental Rugs*, opp. p. 332.

dirottamente per la carta, che tolta gli avevano, per acquetarlo, tornavano a dargliela, ed egli accostesela alla bocca, ed a poco a poco colle tenere unghia rompendola, se lo mangiò; mostrando che insieme col latte succhiava l'amor della purissima Vergine, di cui tutto il tempo della sua vita fu divotissimo.¹

This may be translated as follows:

The wet-nurse, seeking once to swaddle him, found the Blessed one holding tight in his hand a piece of paper, and when, in order to bind him up more conveniently, she tried to take it away, the child began to weep so bitterly that she had to leave it to him. When his mother snatched it out of his hand and looked at it, she found written on it AVE MARIA, and because he went on weeping so violently for the

¹ Prof. Toesca has had the great kindness to call my attention to a similar legend told of St. Bernardino of Siena. He writes: 'Il bambino tiene, a due riprese, il cartello inscritto AVE MARIA, dimostrando così la sua devozione alla Madonna, come è accennato da tutte le antiche vite di S. Bernardino e tra altro da quella del senese Leonardo Benvoglianti (metà del sec. xv), pubblicata in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxi, 1902, p. 52, ss. Il Benvoglianti narra che da bambino il santo fu abituato dalla madre e poi dalle donne, che lo allevavano, alla devozione della Madonna; e una Vita scritta da anonimo aquilano (*Acta Sanctorum*, v. 262) aggiunge che spesso fu visto "puerulum ante Virginis imaginem lacrimantem, et salutationem (cioè AVE MARIA) genuflexo amoroso cujusdam suspirii et vocis emissionem exprimere". Forse la leggenda del santo rielaborata in volgare . . . avrà qualche particolare che commenti meglio il quadretto; ma intanto mi pare che non ci sia da dubitare sul soggetto di questo, a che anche quello di Perugia rappresenti la stessa cosa, benchè il Venturi lo interpreti "il richiamo alla vita di un fanciullo morto" (*Storia*, vii. 2, p. 362). Codesta interpretazione mi sembra impossibile perchè se si trattasse di un miracolo operato dal santo non mancherebbe la sua figura, come negli altri quadretti di Perugia.' This may be translated as follows: In two legends the child holds a paper inscribed AVE MARIA, showing thus his devotion to the Madonna, a devotion noted in all the ancient Lives of St. Bernardino, and, among others, in that of the Sienese Leonardo Benvoglianti (middle of the fifteenth century, published in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxi, 1902, p. 52 et seq.). Benvoglianti relates that from a child the Saint was brought up, first by his mother and then by his nurses, to a special devotion to the Madonna, and a Life written by the Anonimo Aquilano adds that he was often seen as an infant weeping before the image of the Virgin, saluting her (Ave Maria) with loving prostrations, sighs, and utterances. Possibly the legend of the Saint worked over for popular usage might have some details that bear a closer relation to this picture, but in the meantime it seems to me that the subject of this one is not in doubt, and that also the picture in Perugia represents the same thing, although Venturi interprets it as 'The Resuscitation of a Dead Child' (*Storia*, vii. 2, p. 362). This interpretation seems to me impossible, because if it were a miracle wrought by the Saint his figure would be present, as it is in the other pictures of this series at Perugia.



FIG. 3. DOMENICO MORONE: VISION OF FRA PAOLINO OF AQUILA
Paris, Chalandon Collection



FIG. 4. DOMENICO MORONE: ST. THOMAS DISPUTING; CHRIST
GIVES HIS APPROVAL FROM THE ALTAR

Paris, Chalandon Collection

paper which had been taken from him, they gave it back to quiet him. He put it to his mouth and tearing it into bits with his tender nails, he ate it, thus showing that along with the milk he sucked in love of the most pure Virgin, to whom all his life long he remained devoted.

To return to the picture itself, we note that the palace has exquisitely neat and clean edges, and that its proportions, in so far as one may judge, have much distinction. On the side there is an almost box-like balcony resting on massive supports, and over it an awning or canopy. Under the staircase a grated arched opening serves as a rabbit-hutch. Beyond the crenellated garden wall we see a path winding through an orchard, that rises rapidly to a ledge of jagged rock, with a golden sky at the back. It is curious that under the present painting there are traces of various geometrical curves, no doubt originally intended for another composition containing many arches. On the edge of the panel are traces of the original frame, which would seem to have been of the most florid Gothic.

A second panel, formerly in the collection of M. Adolphe Kann, is now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (fig. 2, 43 by 33 cm.). The learned Keeper of the pictures in that Museum has done justice to it in the *Bulletin* (Nov. 1923), and has discovered its meaning. It is St. Thomas sitting between SS. Peter and Paul, while the latter expounds to him the sense of an obscure passage in a book. On the left St. Thomas is seen again taking the book from a shelf. On the terrace above appears a monk, probably Brother Reginald, reading.

The third panel (frontispiece, 44 by 33 cm.), formerly in the Engel-Gros Collection and now belonging to Mme Emile Paravicini, Château de Ripaille, Savoy, is best described in the words of Baring-Gould, taken from his *Lives of the Saints*.¹ Commenting on the relations

¹ Vol. iii, March, p. 142.

between St. Louis, King of France, and Thomas Aquinas, he goes on to say of the latter :

‘The saint, in spite of his earnest entreaties to be excused, was sometimes compelled, both by loyalty and courtesy, to appear at the royal table. For a while he would join in the general conversation, soon to be withdrawn by his inward thoughts. Once at dinner, after a long silence, he smote the table smartly, exclaiming, “That is an overwhelming argument against the Manichaeans”. His superior bade him remember that he was in the King’s presence. Thomas apologized for his absence of mind. But the King, smiling, requested him to dictate to one of his secretaries the argument which had engrossed his attention, that it might lose none of the force which marks the thoughts of genius at its first conception.’

We see the King sitting under a crimson velvet canopy, the Saint dictating, the young clerk taking down his words ; we see the buffet, the serving-men, the princely courtyard, the silver eagles with outspread wings blazoned within roundels, the hawk on a perch hung with a cloth of green samite embroidered with the same blazon—all the appurtenances of a kingly interior, even to the monkey, who sits scratching himself at the base of the column.

Ribadeneira recounts¹ how upon various occasions and in various places Our Lord stepped down from a crucifix, or came forward on an altar, to express His approval to Thomas. At M. Georges Chalandon’s in Paris, there is a companion panel to the one last described in which this episode is represented (fig. 4, 43 by 32 cm.). In the nave of a basilica consisting of bays resting on pillars and embracing two arches springing from the same column, our Saint has just discomfited an elderly turbaned layman, in the presence of other laymen and friars. At the end of the shallow apse, lit by a side window before the altar at which St. Thomas kneels in prayer, Our Lord steps forward from a painted triptych, and, bending towards him, holds out a scroll where we can still read the letters *SPSISTI*.

¹ *Flos Sanctorum*, vol. i, p. 198.



FIG. 5. DOMENICO MORONE: MIRACLE OF ST. DOMINIC
New York, Metropolitan Museum



FIG. 6. DOMENICO MORONE: PREACHING OF ST. THOMAS

Rome, Baron Michele Lazzaroni

When our blessed Saint came to die, his disciples and friends had many visions. Ribadeneira¹ relates that Fra Paolino dell' Aquila, Inquisitor of Naples, had that day a marvellous one.

‘Vide stare il Santo Dottore come leggendo nella sua cattedra, ed entrare dentro San Paolo, al quale San Tommaso facendo riverenza, gli domandò, se nell' esposizione delle sue Epistole egli avesse accertato; a cui l' Apostolo rispondeva di sì, quanto qui in terra si può, ma che se ne andasse seco, che meglio l' intenderebbe, a che tirandolo per la cappa lo cavava fuor del Capitolo, a seco lo conduceva. Per la qual visione intese, che Iddio gli toglieva il suo gran maestro, e che l' Apostolo S. Paolo lo menava in sua compagnia a godere di Dio.’²

And this is the way our painter represents it (fig. 3, Chalandon Collection, Paris, 43 by 32 cm.). We see through an arch into a small but lofty room. Against the outer wall, between and under two narrow windows, St. Thomas is sitting high up in a sort of elaborately carved choir chair. He is arguing with a layman below, while three friars and three doctors sit by, listening. Above in a balcony the Pope, between two Cardinals, encourages him with a gesture of his right hand. On our left we see a sainted friar, with his hands folded in prayer, while a much older Saint seems to be trying to pull him away by his tunic. Finally, on our right, outside the arch through which all this is seen, is standing the same elderly greybeard, but of larger scale than the other figures, as if to show that he is on another plane of reality.

Before leaving these five panels, which were obviously

¹ Ibid., p. 203.

² This may be translated as follows: I saw the holy Doctor sitting as if reading in his chair and St. Paul entering behind, of whom St. Thomas, doing reverence to him, asked whether in the exposition of his Letters he had rightly interpreted the thought of the writer; to which the Apostle answered that he had, so far as any one on earth could, but that if he would go along with him he would understand them better, and, drawing him by the gown, he pulled him out of the consistory and took him with himself. By which vision he understood that God took his great Master to Himself, and that St. Paul led him away in his company to enjoy God.

painted as parts of the same work, we may stop for a moment to inquire what that work may have been.

The clear traces of a frame in the most florid Gothic mode which we found in one of them (fig. 1) might be taken to imply that the pictures did not serve to adorn a cupboard, for at the time when the designs were made, as we shall show later, cupboards were more likely to be decorated in the Renaissance style than in the Gothic. The kind of frame, as a matter of fact, points to the side of an altar-piece. Originally they may very well have looked very much like the eight panels to the right and left of the St. Vincent Ferrer in the polyptych at S. Pietro Martire in Naples (fig. 10); or, indeed, the various subjects may have been arranged in the same manner as in the S. Bernardino polyptych at Cagliari.¹

Whichever was the arrangement, we can scarcely hesitate as to the central figure at the sides of which the panels we have been discussing were placed. It must have been the Angelic Doctor either standing rapt, as in Traini's picture, or seated teaching, as in Benozzo's masterpiece. And as the height of these panels is a bit over 40 cm., there were at least three, and perhaps four of them at each side. We may assume the existence of *predelle* as well, and of a roundel or pediment on top. I invite fellow students to join me in the search for the scattered remains of this work.²

Of the further panels which fall into line with those I have described, and which I take to be by the same artist at the same moment of his career, three are *predelle*. It is

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 4, p. III.

² As this was going to press, Baron Lazzaroni of Rome was kind enough to show me a panel in his possession representing St. Thomas preaching (fig. 6). It turned out to be one of our series. I will not anticipate the reader's pleasure in finding out for himself, by a minute analysis on the lines laid down in this Essay, where, when, and by whom it was painted.



FIG. 7. DOMENICO MORONE: BAPTISM OF CHRIST
Paris, M. F. Kleinberger

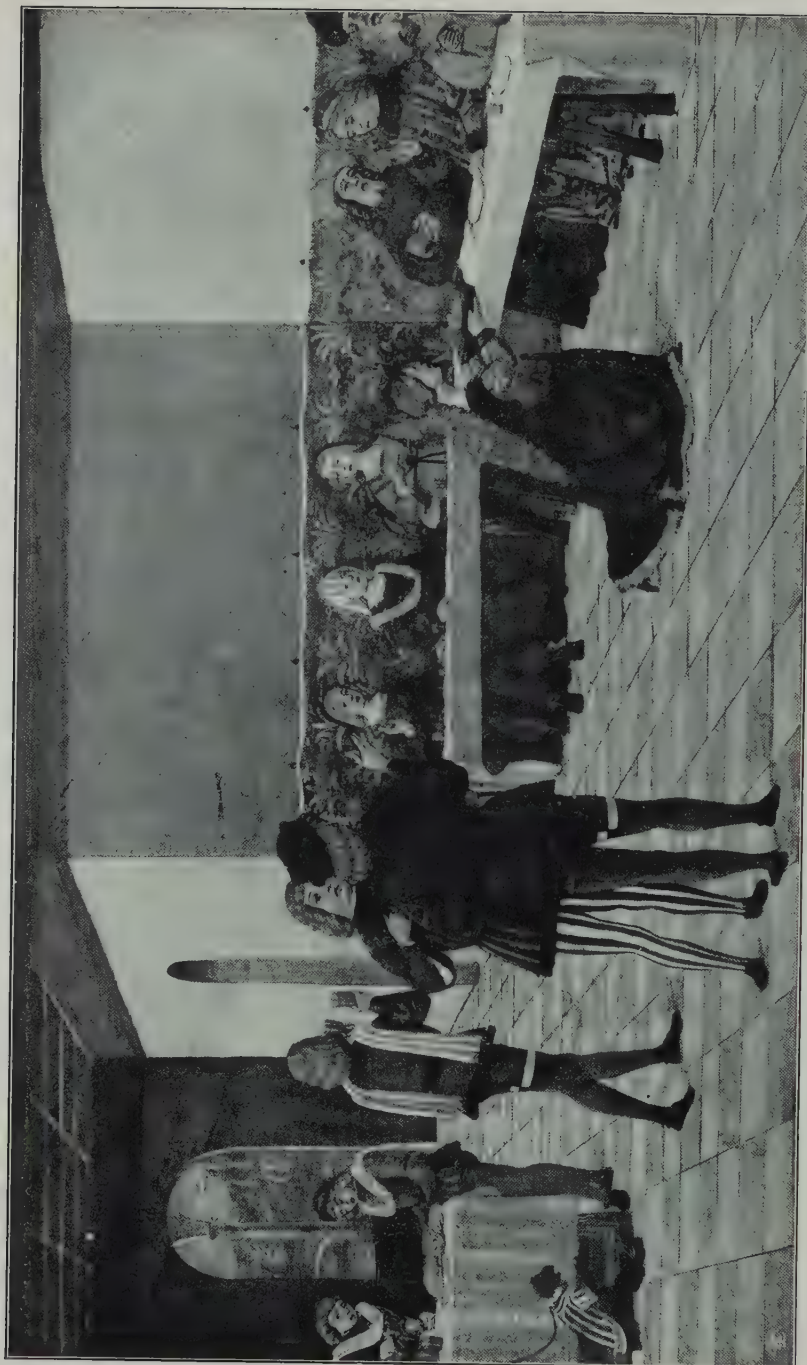


FIG. 8. DOMENICO MORONE: FEAST OF HEROD
Paris, M. F. Kleinberger

a temptation to connect one of them with the St. Thomas altar-piece, but as it represents a conspicuous event in the legend of St. Dominic, we should have to assume that the altar-piece in question contained the figure of that Saint as well, for unless it did so there would be no reason why he should be celebrated in one of the *predelle*. On the other hand, if he stood on one side of St. Thomas, a third figure must have balanced him, and this would have made the altar-piece wider than is at all probable, given the width of the panels surrounding the central one. I incline, therefore, to the belief that this *predella* belonged to a separate work.

It first appeared many years ago in the collection of Mr. J. E. Taylor of London, and then passed into the hands of Mr. Dreicer, who left it to the Metropolitan Museum of New York (fig. 5, 33 by 41 cm.). It portrays the well-known miracle of St. Dominic bringing to life Napoleone, the young nephew of the Cardinal Stefano di Fossanova. On the right, the Saint bends over the prostrate youth, who has been thrown from his horse. In the middle, he presents him safe and sound to his uncle and the admiring bystanders. The scene takes place in a city square enclosed by buildings of monumental distinction. But to all this we shall return later.

The two other *predelle* represent the Baptism of Our Lord and the Feast of Herod. In the summer of 1914 they were in the possession of M. Fr. Kleinberger of Paris. They certainly must have formed part of a distinct unit, for two panels recounting episodes in the life of the Baptist could not conceivably have found a place among the *predelle* to an altar-piece in honour of St. Thomas.

In the Baptism (fig. 7), Our Lord, startlingly youthful in appearance, is standing in a shallow stream, naked except for a light scarf falling from His left shoulder to His waist,

and caught up again over His right arm. There is nothing else unusual about this somewhat damaged painting. It is of no great moral or intellectual depth, but it is pleasantly narrative, with a landscape accompaniment of a kind common to most Italian schools towards the end of the fifteenth century.

Its companion, the Feast of Herod (fig. 8), partakes of the same tendency to what we may venture to call lateralism. The protagonists, instead of being placed in the middle, are to one side. The artist has staged the scene in a wide, low hall, cool and roomy, with a pleasant outlook upon the distant landscape. There is no crowding, no economizing of space. The six feasters sit behind a table placed in the corner, along two sides of a wall. The few attendants and the buffet occupy a remarkably small part of the tessellated pavement. Note the costumes (of which more later), the sobriety of the decorations, and the singular rusticity of Salome, who is not a princess, but the daughter of a village notable.

There remains yet one more panel of this series, the most important as well as the most interesting of the lot (fig. 9, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). As it measures $61\frac{1}{2}$ by $61\frac{1}{2}$ cm., its original destination is an enigma. It certainly could not have formed part of a *predella*, and still less could it have been one of a number of panels flanking a central figure. Nor is it likely to have decorated a door of a cupboard in some sacristy.

It represents a Dominican preaching from a temporary pulpit erected in the doorway of a church. The basilical brick façade of this structure occupies the farther end of a piazza lined with arcaded buildings, of a somewhat less ideal type than those found in the panel containing the resuscitation of the young Napoleone. The entire square could easily have existed in fact, and, later, we may inquire



FIG. 9. DOMENICO MORONE: PREACHING OF ST. VINCENT FERRER

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



FIG. 10. CATALAN-VALENCIAN, FIFTEENTH CENTURY:
ALTAR-PIECE OF ST. VINCENT FERRER

Naples, S. Pietro Martire

where and when. To return to the preacher, he seems to be addressing himself especially to a Pope seated between two Cardinals and other prelates in a balcony on our left. He points to a vision of Our Lord carrying a heavy cross.¹ The middle of the square below is thronged with women; and on the benches everywhere are sitting or kneeling the worthy burghers, who also fill the arcades, and stand listening at all the approaches and before all the doors. Foremost on the left appears a slender negro in parti-coloured hose. In the group to the right a citizen yawns into his cap, and this action is repeated by a youth standing above him. Below in the forefront are sitting three bearded and turbaned Jews who have been granted the inestimable opportunity of listening to words calculated to soften their hearts and unstiffen their necks. Against the jambs of the church door, under the Vision, sit two monks who take down the words of the preacher.

This design glorifies the activity of the famous Valencian revivalist, St. Vincent Ferrer, who died in 1419 and was canonized in 1455. He was renowned for the power to move audiences to a physical realization of the sufferings of Our Lord; he attracted such crowds that 'he was obliged' (in the language of the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*) 'to preach in squares and public places'; and he was particularly expert in the conversion of Jews and Moors. All this explains why we see him pointing to the vision of Christ bearing the burden of the heavy cross, and why Jews and a blackamoor are conspicuous in the foreground.

¹ In the reproduction this apparition looks so much like a St. Christopher painted or plastered on to the church, that I took the precaution to write to Mr. Charles Bell of the Ashmolean Museum, and he answered as follows: 'The figure is quite certainly Christ as a full-grown man holding the cross against His right shoulder. . . . It is quite clearly intended for a vision and not a painting on the front of the church. The painter has taken great pains, not only by making the aureole of cherubs and rays of light cut across the lines of the architecture, but by an attempt at aerial perspective, to give the impression of something floating in mid air.'

II

The description of the foregoing nine panels will suffice to identify them, both as compositions and as illustrations. We shall learn more and more about them when, in the next section, we attempt to place them. Meanwhile we have to prove that they are by the same hand.

It would be hard to discover an easier problem in connoisseurship. The method so much in vogue at present of reproducing a picture with the invariable formula 'basta vedere la riproduzione per convincersi',¹ would here be perfectly in place. It is indeed an expeditious as well as a painless way of pursuing art criticism, and, but for those rare cases where qualitative tests are demanded, it yields satisfactory results. For the works of most of the *Trecento* masters of every school, and of nearly all the *Quattrocento* painters, except the great Florentines and the great Venetians, are as standardized as a Ford car, and, like that serviceable vehicle, composed of interchangeable parts. As our panels are of this kind, we can readily pick out enough items in common to persuade us of their common authorship.

Let us start on our quest with the first of the St. Thomas panels (fig. 1), the one recounting his birth. We shall begin with the most obvious feature, the architecture, and shall then go on to the less and less conspicuous details, the landscape, the types, the action.

The house has the same appearance of four-square solidity, combined with a certain pride, a certain elegance of proportions, which is to be found wherever there are buildings in the other eight panels, but particularly in the Miracle of St. Dominic (fig. 5). Everywhere we have the same delicate, faintly projecting moulding to mark the *piano nobile*. Identical throughout are the balconies with their

¹ It suffices to look at the reproductions to acquire the certainty.

canopies, the bevelled rectangular openings, and the arched windows and doors, which in all the panels have the same relations to each other as spots in the general pattern. The walls likewise resemble each other in presenting extensive smooth surfaces, and show similar relations of openings and uninterrupted space. I may here point out the identity of the table legs or supports in the St. Louis at Dinner (frontispiece) and in the Feast of Herod (fig. 8), and the close likeness of the patterned hangings in these two paintings.

The landscape, it is true, offers no shapes which are common to all the panels, but even in the reproductions we can perceive that, little as they may resemble each other in outline, trees and rocks, wherever they occur, as for example in the Baptism and Feast of Herod (figs. 7 and 8), are painted exactly as in the Birth of Thomas (fig. 1), to look as if scribbled with a scratchy pen. In the originals, the vivid, almost metallic colours which are common to all the panels contribute not a little to convince one of their being due to the same palette.

We can take the types and the action together. It would be tedious to enumerate the parallels to the heads and gestures of the women in the Jarves panel (fig. 1) with those in the crowd listening to St. Vincent in the Oxford picture (fig. 9), or with those in the Feast of Herod (fig. 8). The child is of the same variety as the Christ Child in the arms of His Mother frescoed in the lunette over the door occupied by the great revivalist's pulpit (fig. 9). The monk's roundish, chubby face might easily replace that of St. Thomas, or indeed of any other monkish person in the series. In action, the friar in the Jarves panel (fig. 1) is all but interchangeable with the one representing our Saint disputing (fig. 4). Look now at the Thomas teaching (fig. 3), and notice how identical are the personages in type and

action, as well as in costume, with those in the Preaching of St. Vincent (fig. 9), particularly with the people upon the benches in the foreground and in the balconies. Or turn to the St. Louis (frontispiece) and the Feast of Herod (fig. 8) and note the resemblance in the type and action and costume of the people, and the likeness of the foremost page in the Feast of Herod to the young Napoleone in the Miracle of St. Dominic (fig. 5). But enough: 'basta vedere'.

Draperies and folds are among the Morellian tests of identity. There is a peculiar scrawl on the skirt of the seated woman in the Birth of Thomas (fig. 1) which finds its parallel in John's cloak in the Baptism (fig. 7). As for the crinkly folds on the sleeve of the woman addressing her, if you look carefully you will discern them again and again in the Thomas teaching (fig. 3), in the Vincent preaching (fig. 9), and in almost any other picture of this series. Finally, it is curious to note how nearly identical are the limp, parallel folds in the scarves worn in the Baptism and in the Feast of Herod (figs. 7 and 8) with the folds in the hoods of three of the women in the Birth of Thomas (fig. 1).

Hands are another Morellian test of identical authorship. I invite the student to look well at those of the two women conversing in the Birth of Thomas, and see how often these peculiarly long slender hands are extended demonstratively in the other scenes, particularly in the Teaching of Thomas (fig. 3).

Then these nine panels have in common two elements of the highest importance, colour and technique. But as the reproductions cannot bring these home to the reader, I will say little about them except this: these paintings are not mere tinted or stained drawings, but their colour and technique are of the very essence of the conception. The



FIG. 11. CATHEDRAL OF SAN MINIATO AL TEDESCO



FIG. 12. S. ANASTASIA, VERONA

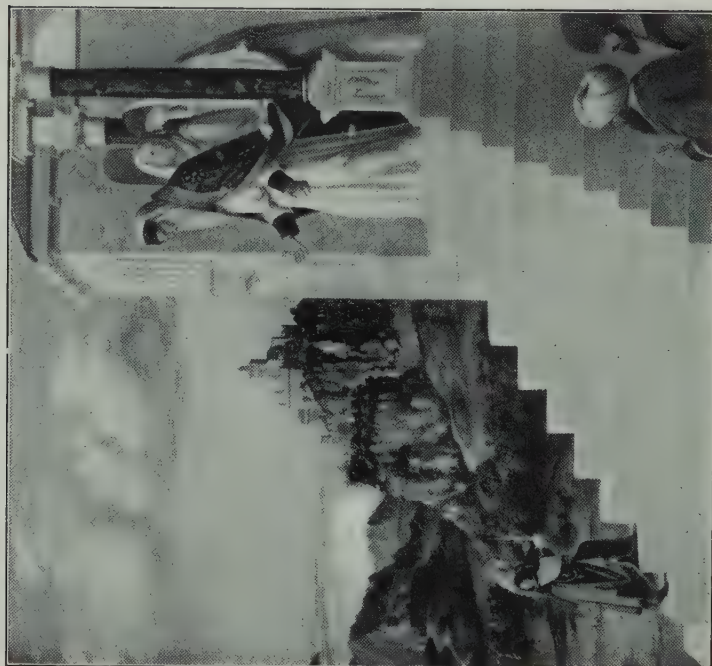


FIG. 13. CIMA DA CONEGLIANO:
DETAIL FROM PRESENTATION OF VIRGIN
Dresden Gallery



FIG. 14. TITIAN:
DETAIL FROM PRESENTATION OF VIRGIN
Venice Academy

actual pigment, therefore, laid on in the way it is, makes in all these panels a definite appeal as of substance independent of its value as notation, and sensuously interesting and attractive on its own account. But to this matter as well we shall return again before we have done.

III

From this facile task, which certain students seem to consider as the whole of connoisseurship, just as, indeed, they seem to think connoisseurship to be the whole of art criticism, we must now proceed to the more serious archaeological business of determining when and where these nine panels, which are due to the same hand, were painted. This will demand an effort not adequately covered by the phrase 'basta vedere'.

I assume that the reader finds no more difficulty than I do in arriving, either by instant recognition, or by an elimination as swift as thought, at the certainty that these pictures are Italian and of the *Quattrocento*. The architecture, the costumes, and the landscape ought almost as readily to tell us to what part of Italy and to what town they belong, as well as to what quarter of the century, and even to what decade.

A student living in Italy and acquainted not merely with Florence or Ferrara, with Milan or Venice, but knowing the entire peninsula and feeling the individuality, the peculiar aroma of each of its hundred cities as one perceives the distinctive scent of a flower, ought not to have a moment's hesitation: he should at once recognize that, while these nine paintings are so generally Italian as to suggest to the amateur the art of whatever town or district he happens to know best, they are to the informed student clearly Venetic, and more particularly Veronese.

Architecture and costume, to mention only the more obvious elements of the problem, should go a great way towards helping us to decide not only where a given handiwork arose, but when. A generation ago it may have been otherwise, for scholarship was not sufficiently advanced, but nowadays it is possible to establish a fairly detailed and precise chronology of *Quattrocento* painting, without necessarily taking the individual painters into account. Every work of art should be a clock-face for him who has learnt how to read it.

Keeping, then, time as well as place in mind, let us return to our nine panels, and compel first the architecture, then the costumes, and finally the landscape, the types, and the action, to yield up all the information we can squeeze out of them. We shall begin with the two panels that have the most to tell, namely the Preaching of St. Vincent (fig. 9) and the Miracle of St. Dominic (fig. 5).

In the St. Vincent picture the entire architecture, massive yet elegant and distinguished, is of brick. Now, except at Siena, and there only within definite limits, brick, when used in Tuscany, is masked or stuccoed or painted so as to disguise its nature. It is employed, so to speak, as a sordid necessity, and not frankly as a material which can display beautiful and noble qualities of its own, different from marble or stone, yet not ashamed in their presence. The appreciation of brick for its own sake prevailed, on the contrary, everywhere in the Lombard plain from Turin to Venice and Bologna, and away farther down through the Romagna, the caudal appendage of that plain, in the cultural if not in the geological sense.

A brick façade to an important church is the rarest of rarities anywhere in Tuscany, or, for that matter, in Umbria; and in the Florentine dominions it is unknown, with but two significant exceptions. One, as Professor Toesca

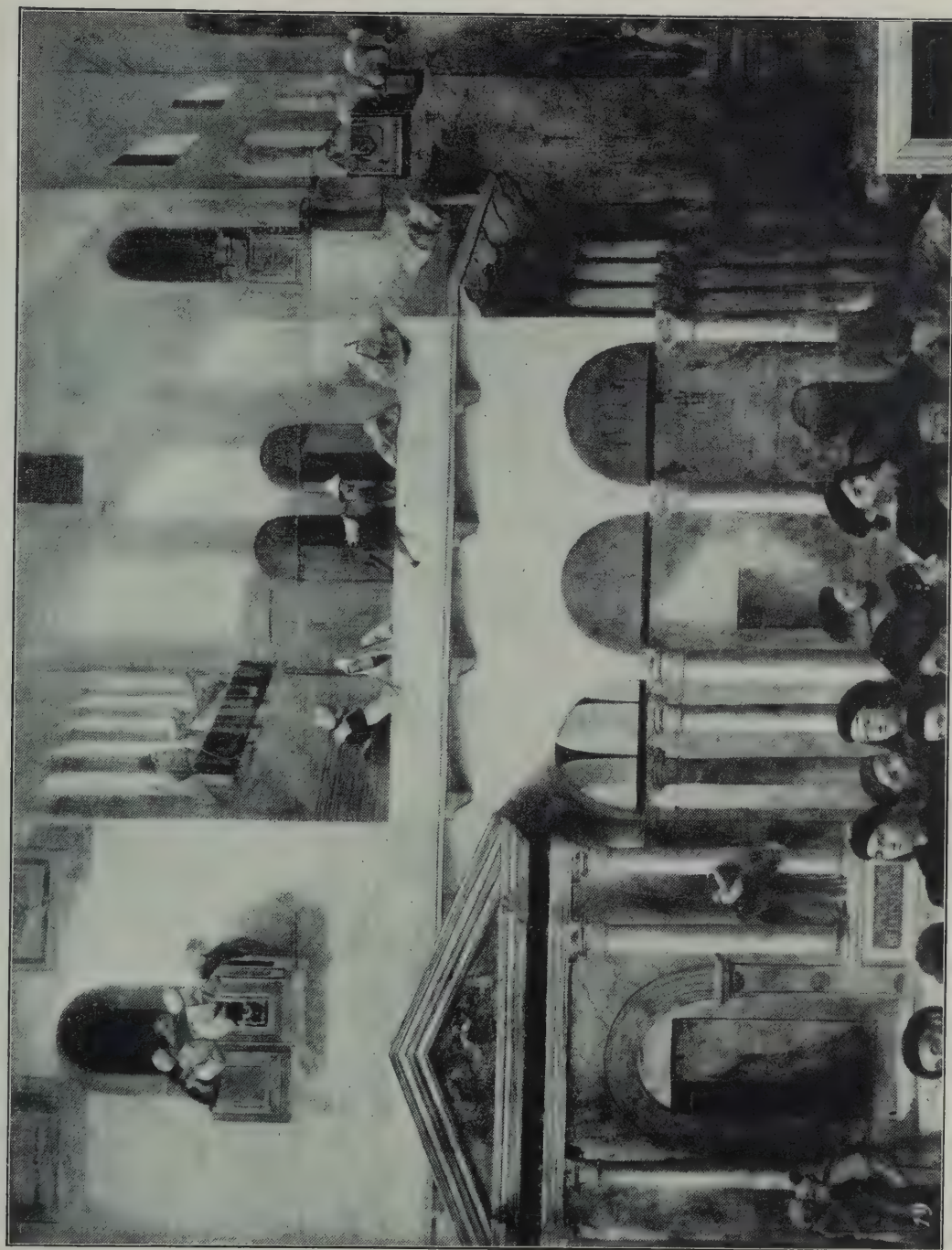


FIG. 15. VITTORE BELLINIANO: DETAIL OF MARTYRDOM OF ST. MARK
Formerly Vienna Academy, now Venice



FIG. 16. LAZZARO BASTIANI (?): MARTYRDOM OF SAINT
Philadelphia, J. G. Johnson Collection

informs me, is the Pieve di Monterappoli, near Empoli;¹ but this is due, as the inscription once told, to a Maestro Bonseri who boasts of springing from the *gente Lombarda*. The other is the Cathedral of San Miniato al Tedesco, famous for the majolica plates encrusted in the façade (fig. 11). When this church was built, the town was the seat of the German Vicar of the Holy Roman Empire and of the military forces he commanded. These Germans, or Germanized Latins, no doubt gave the tone, and had Lombard architects in their train.

M. Mâle, in his brilliant essay on German and French art, which, despite its polemical basis, remains a most suggestive book, cites two features in church building as of Lombard origin, namely the pillar alternating with the column in the vaulted nave, and the strips, or flat buttresses, on the outside. The second feature alone concerns us at present, and it may be questioned whether a better example of these buttresses could easily be discovered than what appears on our façade (fig. 9). In this matter, however, as indeed in so much else, Lombardy belongs to Central Europe, and pure Italy begins at Pistoia. The purest Italy is the Valdarno, and in that happy valley I cannot recall such buttresses on the façade of any church, which means that, if they exist, they must be rare indeed. They are frequent enough in France and Germany, in England and Scotland, and, for all I know to the contrary, in Scandinavia. Why purest Italy would have none of them is not our concern here. For our purpose it is enough to suggest that a Florentine painter would scarcely have gone out of his way to paint so unusual a feature, while to an inhabitant of the Valley of the Po nothing would have seemed more familiar. Hence another probability that the painter of

¹ Reproduced in Giglioli's *Empoli Artistica*, Firenze, Lumacchi, 1906.

our panel was in the widest use of the term a Lombard and not a Tuscan.

A specialist in the history of architecture could probably point to a score of peculiarities on this façade alone which would prove not only that it is North Italian, but belongs to some precise district in that region. I have no such competence, and it is with no small sense of my temerity that I venture to suggest that the moulding around the arch of the lancet window is Veronese, and that the presence of a low door under it is Venetic. A number of such mouldings are reproduced in Street's classical book on *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*,¹ as, for example, on pages 90, 106, 396, and pl. 14. The first of these is of special interest here, as it displays a bevelling similar to the one in our façade, a not too common feature in the Lombard plain, and all but unknown farther south. As for the tall window over the low side door, only two examples readily come to mind, although others must of course exist, and these occur in the façades of S. Celso at Milan,² and of the Cathedral at Mantua (fig. 17). Now in all that concerns the arts that town was nearly one with Verona. Again, the precise relation of gable-shaped moulding or canopy over the door, as we see it here and in the Miracle of St. Dominic (fig. 5), would seem to be a peculiarity of this region. Witness various examples in the Piazza of S. Anastasia in Verona alone (fig. 12).

Before continuing the examination of other measurable, and therefore obvious, features of this picture, it will be convenient to look at the panel where St. Thomas, after a disputation, kneels before the altar on which Our Lord steps forward presenting a scroll with the expression of His approval (fig. 4). The church is a vaulted basilica with

¹ 2nd ed., John Murray, 1874.

² Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, pl. 105 (4).



FIG. 17. DOMENICO MORONE: BATTLE
AND EXPULSION

Mantua.



CATHEDRAL SQUARE OF MANTUA
MONACOLSI

alternating pillars and columns of the precise kind so characteristic of Lombard architecture. In Tuscany, examples of this are so rare that none come to mind. The nearest approach is the system of S. Miniato at Florence, where, however, the pillar does not alternate with the column, but follows after every pair of columns. And besides it carries no vaulting.

Turning back to St. Vincent preaching (fig. 9), we note on each side of the square a massive balcony resting on brackets of masonry and shaded by canopies of much lighter structure. Our painter has evidently a predilection for these well-built, solid, yet elegant balconies. Two appear in the Miracle of St. Dominic (fig. 5), and one again in the Banquet of St. Louis (frontispiece). Now balconies, in pre-Baroque architecture, are at least as characteristically North Italian as flat buttresses or alternating pillars and columns. In North Italy, they are particularly common in Venetia, but with panelling—as in our pictures, instead of balustrades of small columns—they are exceedingly rare (in actuality, if not in painting) outside of Verona. The canopy seems to have existed in Verona and Mantua only. The Florentine palace has its projecting eaves and open *loggie*, which obviated the need of balconies. Humbler houses may have had flimsy, trestle-like balconies; but the only image I can recall in Florentine art of one as solid and elegant as a piece of *Quattrocento* furniture, occurs in the mysterious *tondo* of about 1455 in the Duval-Foule Collection in Paris,¹ representing Solomon receiving the Queen of Sheba. The scene takes place in the midst of buildings which are utterly fanciful, and bear no resemblance, as do the buildings in our picture, to architecture that is easily realizable, if not actually existing at the moment.

In Venice, on the contrary, it rains balconies. Not only

¹ Schubring, *Cassoni*, no. 615, *Les Arts*, June, 1902, p. 16.

is it difficult to dissociate them from one's recollection of palaces on the Grand Canal, but they seldom fail to appear in *Quattrocento* or even *Cinquecento* Venetian pictures, where houses form part of the design. Beginning with Jacopo Bellini and Giovanni and Antonio da Murano, we shall find them constantly occurring down to Titian and Veronese. The nearest parallels to the box-shaped balcony in our panels appear in Cima da Conegliano's idyllic and altogether enchanting Presentation of the Blessed Virgin (fig. 13), and in Titian's transposition of this theme into the key of utmost *Cinquecento* magnificence (fig. 14). Good instances are to be seen in Victor Belliniano's Martyrdom of St. Mark (fig. 15), finished in 1526, and in two panels representing the martyrdom of a Saint in the J. G. Johnson Collection at Philadelphia, there ascribed to Lazzaro Bastiani, and at all events Venetian towards 1495 (fig. 16), as well as in many Veronese intarsias of the same period at Verona itself, at Monte Oliveto Maggiore, at Siena, and in various *cassoni*, as, for instance, the one reproduced by Schubring (*Cassoni*, 900).

Paolo Caliari, who is at the same time one of the three or four greatest Venetians of the sixteenth century, and the most remarkable Veronese painter of all ages, has a congenital predilection for balconies. Few artists have understood better than he how sumptuous, how splendid, how gorgeous an effect of animation is created by these balconies crowded with spectators. I reproduce a painting taken almost at random, designed if not wholly executed by him, now in the Padua Gallery, representing the Martyrdom of SS. Primus and Felicianus (fig. 18). Of course we expect to find this fondness for balconies among his precursors in his native town; and what student of Italian art does not know Liberale's Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (Brera, fig. 19), or, better still, his Suicide of Dido (National Gallery,



FIG. 18. STUDIO OF PAUL VERONÈSE:
MARTYRDOM OF SS. PRIMUS AND FELICIAN

Padua Museum



FIG. 19. LIBERALE DA VERONA: ST. SEBASTIAN
Milan, Brea

fig. 21), with their crowded balconies? The only feature these fail in is the canopy that shelters the balconies in our Preaching of St. Vincent. We discover it, however, in the well-known altar-piece of 1546 by Paolo's uncle and first teacher, Antonio Badile (fig. 20), and we find an even closer parallel in Domenico Morone's masterpiece—to which I shall return again and again—the Victory of the Gonzagas over the Bonacolsi, now in the Ducal Palace of Mantua (fig. 17).

As no detail is negligible—on the contrary, it is the seemingly negligible that is most apt to furnish clues—I shall be pardoned if, before leaving the architecture of this Preaching of St. Vincent, I draw attention to the chimneys. There are two over the house to the south of the church. They end as low pyramids with a knob at the point. We see them without the knob over the house to the left of the cathedral in Morone's Battle Scene. This picture is intended to portray the square as it actually was. Our painter was of course free to furnish here a somewhat idealized architecture, in every respect more self-conscious and therefore more pushed towards finish.¹ So much for this panel.

The most striking feature not yet noticed in the panel representing the Miracle of St. Dominic (fig. 5) is the church on the right. Its walls are in horizontal layers of alternating colours, and, seen in the reproduction alone, that feature might suggest Tuscany, where, however, the changes are from black to white only, while in Verona we have red or brown or pink as well: but the proximity of a door to an apse is Veronese alone. A typical example is the side door next to an apse in the Cathedral of Verona.² Another

¹ The identical chimney is reproduced in Urbani di Gheltof's *Camini*, Venezia, 1892, fig. 223.

² 'Verona', in *Italia Artistica* series, p. 43; 'Verona', in *Berühmte Kunststätten*, p. 25.

may be seen in the Cathedral of Trent, which is Verona's sister city in all matters of architecture and art.¹

The edges, the verticals particularly, in all these panels have a gem-like precision. They appear everywhere—in the Miracle of St. Dominic (fig. 5), where there are five verticals; in the St. Thomas between Peter and Paul (fig. 2); and, most conspicuous of all, in the Birth of St. Thomas (fig. 1). An equally patent instance of such verticals, with a similar relation of light and shade, and similar relation of wall-space to opening, we find only in such a manifestly Veronese masterpiece as Francesco Morone's Samson and Delilah (Poldi-Pezzoli Museum, fig. 22), and in the same artist's early work, now in Berlin, representing a Betrothal (fig. 23).

Our painter gives his buildings an aspect of convincing firmness and solidity, which he combines with an unusual elegance. I am inclined to believe that he gets most of the first and much of the second by drawing attention to the precise thickness of all the openings. His method is to light up all the rounded openings, as in the Birth of St. Thomas (fig. 1) and the Banquet of St. Louis (frontispiece), and to splay all the oblong ones, as in the last-named panel and in the Miracle of St. Dominic (fig. 5). The latter process has certainly an enriching effect, as writers on architecture have no doubt pointed out and explained with a fullness that the fascinating theme demands. For our present purpose, it suffices to say that the painter of our panels had such a sense of its value that, not satisfied with splaying the oblong openings in the Miracle of St. Dominic (fig. 5), he submits the garden wall to the same process, and, it must be added, with rewarding effect. Now at Verona its importance seems to have been fully appreciated as early as the fourteenth century, judging from

¹ 'Trento,' in *L' Italia Monumentale*, pp. 8, 12, 13; Street, op. cit., pl. 8.



FIG. 20. ANTONIO BADILE: DETAIL OF MADONNA AND SAINTS

Verona Museum



FIG. 21. LIBERALE DA VERONA: DETAIL OF DEATH OF DIDO
London, National Gallery

a splayed window at S. Anastasia reproduced by Street (op. cit., p. 90), and to have continued down to 1500; for no earlier date can be given to the three *predella* panels by Girolamo dai Libri recounting the legend of the Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani, formerly in the Schweizer Collection at Berlin (fig. 25), where each contains at least one splayed window.

North Italian, and perhaps specifically Venetic, but not at all Tuscan, are the patterns of the table-legs in both the Banquets (frontispiece and fig. 8), and of the carving of the chair in which St. Thomas sits lecturing (fig. 3). And another item not devoid of interest is the Eagle, embroidered, I take it, deliberately on the cloth under the hawk, as well as placed twice on the wall of the Banquet of St. Louis (frontispiece). This Eagle of gold and silver looks like the Este arms. Is it not likely to be a tribute to that sovereign family? May these panels have been painted for a church in Mantuan territory, at the moment of the marriage of Francesco Gonzaga to Isabella of the house of Este, which took place early in 1490?

In Venetia there was, from about 1400 at least, a marked tendency towards accentuating the horizontal in every kind of composition, but especially in architecture. The vertical is only tolerated on condition that, if it projects above the sky-line, it should serve to accentuate and embellish the horizontality of that line. The diagonal must be avoided at all costs. It is never to be put up with except symmetrically, as in a flattened pediment, or, as the all but vertical side of an obelisk. It must never sprawl indecorously, like a ballet-dancer kicking out with her toes, nor must it appear even as mere asymmetry, like the roof-lines of the Gothic tradition.

The tendency just defined will have been recognized, despite the inadequacy of the description, as the universally

classical one, from the earliest architecture of Egypt and Babylon down to ourselves, their direct cultural descendants. Venetia simply anticipated this return to classicism after the medieval interruption, by two or more generations; and Jacopo Bellini fills sketch-books with buildings, which, despite the traces of Italo-Gothic frivolities, display a marked preference for horizontality, and with it, as is inevitable, for alinement and four-square masses of building. Mantegna not only took up with these tastes, but purified them from the excrescences and childish absurdities to which his father-in-law too often gave way. Mantegna's followers carried the process farther, and in Montagnana's Annunciation in the Chapel of the Bishop's Palace in Padua (fig. 24), and in Liberale's Dido (fig. 21), we see city squares that anticipate not only the painter's ideal of architecture, as presented whenever occasion offered by Titian, by Tintoretto, and most of all by Paolo Veronese, but as actually realized by Sansovino, by Sammicheli, by Palladio, and by their contemporaries in other parts of Italy.

The painters of Florence in these respects lag behind those of Venetia. Lop-sided houses, with a steeply sloping roof on one side, and on the other box-like excrescences upheld by spindle-thin supports, are unthinkable in Venetia as late as the *cassone* of about 1450 reproduced by Schubring (op. cit., 139); and the slightly improved versions of similar architecture in Bugiardini's panels in Berlin (ibid., 806-9) would have seemed monstrosities to Venetians of the same date, say 1510-20. Even in the two beautifully classical studies of city squares, the one at Urbino and the other in Berlin, ascribed with some reason to Piero della Francesca, the eaves of the roof have a tendency towards the diagonal, slight, but yet enough to give a certain effect of unsteadiness as well as of thinness, when compared with the convincing stability and magnificent alinement of Mantegnesque

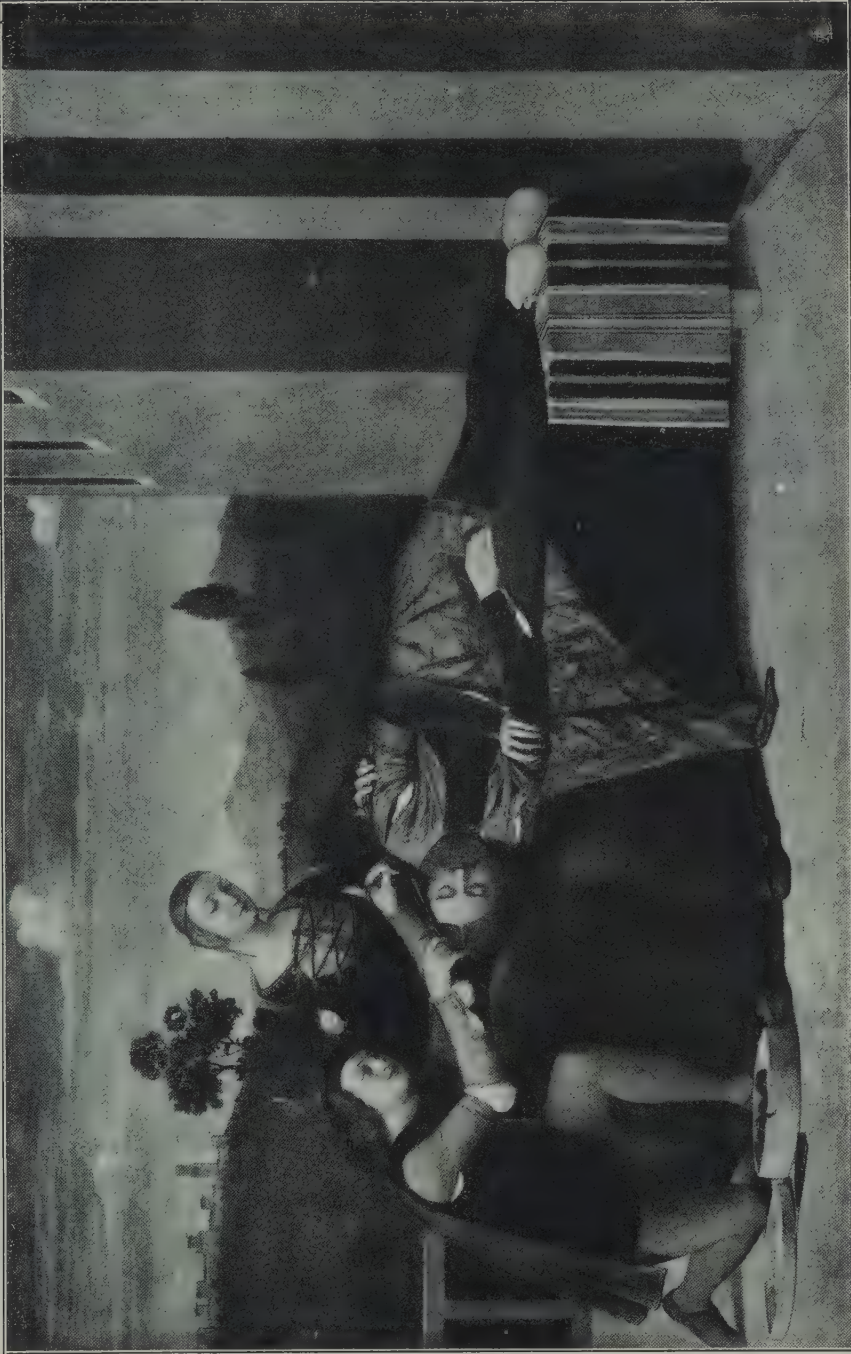


FIG. 22. FRANCESCO MORONE: SAMSON AND DELILAH

Milan, Poldi-Pezzoli

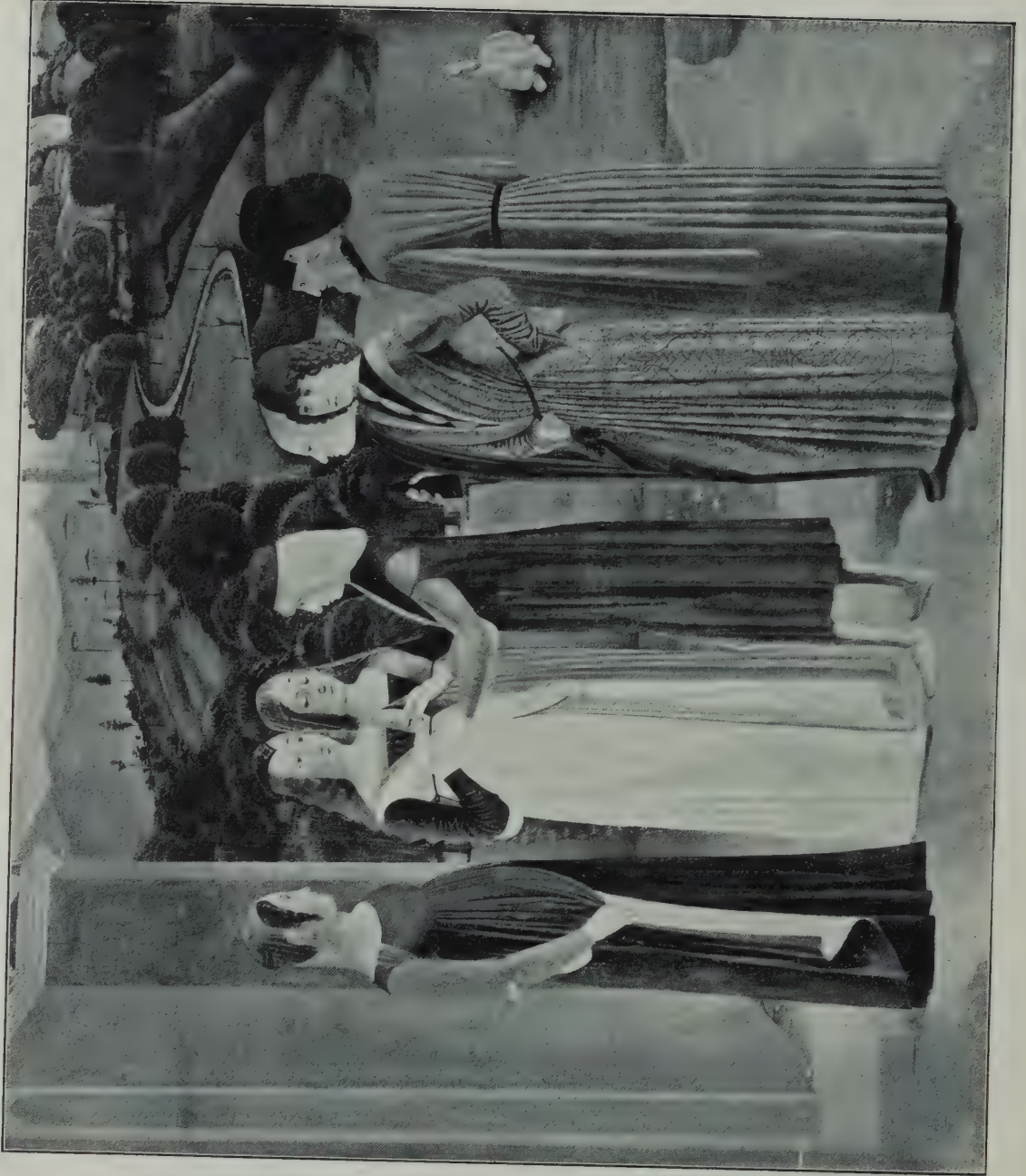


FIG. 23. FRANCESCO MORONE: BETROTHAL

Berlin Gallery

architecture. The art of Tuscany most resembling the latter is Sandro Botticelli's in his later years. To give an idea of the highest average of Florentine painters at the beginning and towards the end of the period within which our nine panels might have been painted, I reproduce two designs which happen, like our Miracle of St. Dominic (fig. 5), to represent the Resurrection of a Boy. The first of these (fig. 26) formed part of the *predella* to Domenico Veneziano's St. Lucy altar-piece, and is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, along with the Annunciation from the same work.¹ The second (fig. 27) is the well-known fresco at S. Trinità by Domenico Ghirlandajo. The many diagonals, the lack of alinement, produce a ragged, restless, almost un-Mediterranean effect, very far indeed from the classical ideal as exemplified so early in the paintings even of Venetians of much smaller talents.

We have far from exhausted the evidence to be derived from a minuter study of the architecture of these nine panels. But there is a limit to human patience; and of research, as of other carnal pleasures, there cometh satiety at the last. I venture to hope that what we have done is enough to persuade students that these panels are Venetic, and, in every probability, Veronese.

Yet we must ask one more question before we can leave this part of our inquiry. That question is whether the architecture, after telling us where our pictures were painted, can also tell us when.

It is clear that in endeavouring to fix the exact date of

¹ I am happy to announce that all the five panels composing this *predella* still exist. Besides the two mentioned above, and the well-known Martyrdom of St. Lucy in Berlin, one representing the youthful Baptist wandering off into the wilderness is now in the possession of Mr. Carl Hamilton of New York, and the fifth, representing the Stigmatization of St. Francis, was recently in the hands of Herr Julius Böhler of Munich. I look forward to publishing them as a contribution towards our further understanding of Domenico Veneziano and of his role in Florentine art.

a piece of architecture or furniture the search for what is most recent is even more important than in questions regarding costume. Whereas the most unfashionable of human beings will scarcely wear anything that goes back earlier than his or her best years, a city square will as likely as not be flanked on the one side by a church going back to the twelfth or thirteenth century, on the opposite side by a town hall built in the fourteenth or fifteenth, with sixteenth- or seventeenth-century palaces in between. Within doors, too, we may be sure that at no period did people of position live without a mass of heirlooms in the midst of furniture and works of art dating from preceding generations, and, in rarer cases, from distant lands. Since man has been civilized, he has had the sense of the far away and long ago. Is not that sense, indeed, at the very heart of the humanities?

To return to our little pictures, while the churches, whether façades or interiors, go back to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, the palaces, on the other hand, belong to the fifteenth. The question for us to settle is to what quarter of the latter century—if possible, to what decade—they belong.

Perhaps if I had devoted as much time to studying the architecture as I have to the painting of the *Quattrocento*, the answers to these questions would flow from the tip of my pen. As it is, the solution of the problem is not so easy for me. Yet certain conclusions are obvious. These palaces are too severe in style, too free from the transitional fancifulness that amuses and delights us in Jacopo Bellini, to be identified with that artist's inventions. And yet they are too inhabitable—shall we say too easy-going?—to be mistaken for the severity of the young and too Romanizing Mantegna. The palaces in our panels betray at once a slackening of that severity and an advance towards



FIG. 24. MONTAGNANA: DETAIL OF ANNUNCIATION

Padua, Bishop's Palace



FIG. 25. GIROLAMO DAI LIBRI; DEATH OF THE BLESSED LORENZO GIUSTINIANI
Formerly in Schweizer Collection, Berlin

a more conscious avoidance of diagonals, towards a more deliberate accentuation of the horizontal and a more purposeful alinement. The closest parallels to our architecture in these respects we have already noted in Montagnana (fig. 24), in Liberale (fig. 21), and in Francesco Morone (fig. 22).¹ Now the Montagnana triptych is known to be of about 1495, and the other works referred to as close parallels are scarcely earlier.² The evidence extracted from the architecture would thus tend to show us that our nine panels may have been painted about 1490.

Perhaps this evidence is not sufficiently concrete, although to me it seems more than adequate. I should like, therefore, to supplement it with an inquiry into something more limited, more definite. The chair on which St. Thomas sits in the panel representing his last disputation (fig. 3) offers a fairly satisfactory subject for this purpose. The carving of the chair, consisting of two dolphins on the top with a vase of flowers between them, and at the sides of florid half-palmettes of about the same shape as the dolphins, presents a pattern which, as a profile if not as detail, is distinctly of the second half of the *Quattrocento*, and nearer to 1500 than to 1450. If I am not mistaken in descrying a lurking trace of Gothic feeling in the foliation, the Veronese origin of this pattern would be established, for nowhere else in Italy did the latest Gothic carving flower out more gorgeously, or die harder. To return to detail, the swing of these volutes, the projections and hollows, anticipate the somewhat sprawling opulence of the *Cinque-*

¹ See also the picture at Berlin (no. 1175) representing a Betrothal (fig. 23). I used to ascribe it to Michele da Verona, but I now believe it to be by Francesco Morone, and to have been painted soon after 1490.

² In the Liberale there are traces of the mature Montagna's influence, notably in the two cloaked men in the middle distance on our left. Montagna worked at SS. Nazaro e Celso in Verona between 1504 and 1506. As for the Samson and Delilah by Francesco Morone, it surely would occur to no one to place it earlier than 1500.

cento, which, in its turn, leads so logically to the Baroque. They certainly do not suggest the primness of the Tuscan *Quattrocento*. If you look through that treasure-house of Italian design in wood, Guggenheim's *Le Cornici Italiane*, you will see that the dolphin is used, not timidly and dryly, as we find it in Donatello's Cantoria of S. Lorenzo at Florence as well as in Mantegna's St. Luke in the Brera, nor heraldically, as in Tura's paintings, but comes in as here, like an animated half-palmette, only towards the end of the *Quattrocento*, and has its day of triumph after 1500. Although the candelabra on the portal to the Schifanoia Palace, rightly ascribed by Venturi to Cossa, approach this type of dolphin,¹ I cannot recall any earlier complete parallel to ours than the border of the arch which occurs in the painted frame of Ercole Roberti's St. Jerome in the Ferrara Gallery (fig. 28), usually ascribed to Tura. That could have been painted no earlier than 1475, and it is at least a decade stiffer and tighter than ours.

So much then for the architecture and furniture as indications of date for our panels. I shudder to think how trite and how amateurish a student who specialized in these branches might find my procedure. Let him by all means take hold of the problem himself and do better. Yet he will allow that, while each item here cited may sporadically find a parallel anywhere in Italy, taken together they point in place to Venetia, and in time to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and well on in that quarter. We now shall look at the next obvious series of facts, the clothing of the figures, and see whether the study of costume confirms or invalidates the above conclusions.

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Dress is, for self-evident reasons, much more subject to fashion than building or even furniture. It is therefore

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 3, fig. 467.



FIG. 26. DOMENICO VENEZIANO: MIRACLE OF ST. ZANOBIUS
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

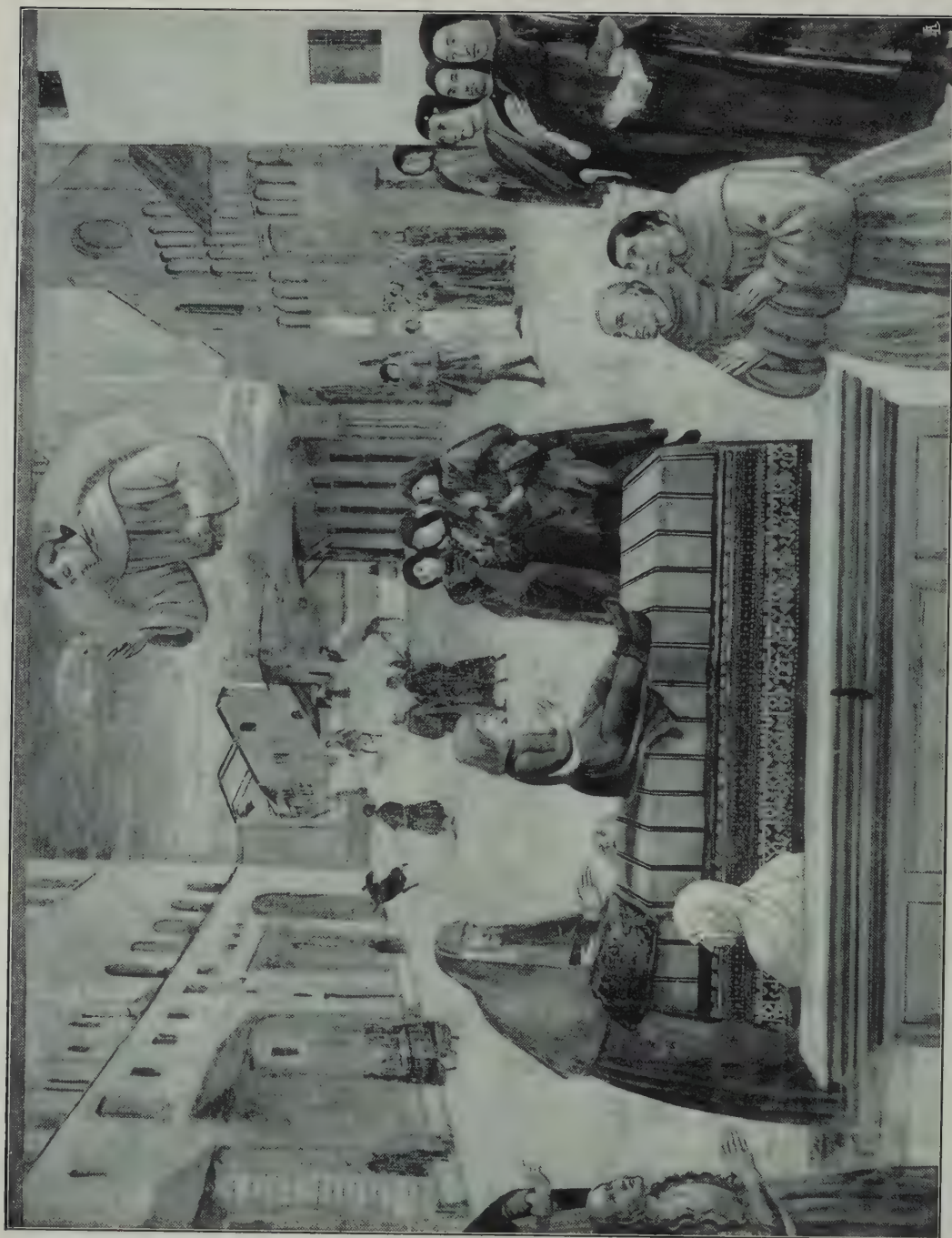


FIG. 27. DOMENICO GHIRLANDAJO: DETAIL OF MIRACLE OF ST. FRANCIS
Florence, S. Trinità

a safer and closer indication of time than of place, for it is as changeful as it is contagious, because fashion, eager to get away from the herd, which it entices to follow after, produces both variety and uniformity with one and the same act.

Unhappily I am even less of a specialist on the history of dress than on building. I must crave the indulgence of the better informed, and hope that their annoyance with my incompetence will spur them, as well as the historians of architecture, to a closer collaboration with us who are studying the arts of visible representation.

I invite them to this collaboration with the seriousness of one convinced that, just because they are so unaware of it, all human beings, through dress, are closely related to the arts of design. If that be true of the meanest members of civilized society, how much truer must it not be of the standard-bearers, the artists themselves! Many noted masters of the figure arts, from Leonardo da Vinci to James McNeill Whistler, were in their own persons leaders of fashion. Raiment demands constant renovation, and it thus offers to the designer marvellous opportunities for the embodiment of his momentary cravings.

Now just as in art Florence, from Giotto to Michelangelo, remained less subject to outside influence (excepting, of course, the influence of the Antique) than any other European school since the beginning of history, so in dress, which is such an integral part of the art of a period, it was the least sensitive to foreign fashions, and less and less so as the *Quattrocento* grew more and more aware of itself.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, more even than now, it was French society which set the tone. The North Italian Courts, Milan and Ferrara in particular, followed closely, and, oddly enough, Siena and Perugia were far more obedient to its dictates than Florence. Thus, in Florentine painting I cannot recollect a single instance

(although no doubt by looking hard one might discover cases) of such characteristics of French masculine attire towards the beginning of the last third of the fifteenth century as the felt hat, all but peaked, and occasionally punched in, that we know so well from the Franco-Flemish illuminations and tapestries and pictures of the period. You will find them, however, in Ferrara, in the Schifanoia frescoes, and more conspicuously still in Cossa's St. Vincent *predella*, now in the Vatican.¹ The *predella* to another St. Vincent polyptych of nearly the same date, namely Giovanni Bellini's in SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice (Photo Anderson, 13950), has figures wearing the same kind of hat; and yet Venice was nearly as refractory as Florence to French modishness.² The lovely S. Bernardino panels at Perugia, dated 1473, show nearly the same head-gear, particularly the one representing the Birth of a Saint, by an obvious Sienese hand, very close to Francesco di Giorgio's,³ if not actually his own.

In our series of pictures we find all the laymen at the Feast of St. Louis (frontispiece) wearing this kind of cap. As it does not occur in any other of the eight panels, not even in the Feast of Herod (fig. 8), the painter must have been aware that he was dressing his personages in Court costume. Nor does the short doublet, drawn in tight and smart at the waist, occur in the rest of the series, nor the soft shoes with the rat-tail tips.⁴ These tips were in universal use for nearly a century before 1475, but less and less long-drawn and curled in at the point, and occur less and

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 3, figs. 471-6.

² In this work the ever oscillating artist betrays acquaintance with Verona and contact with Mantegna at Mantua. It must have been at the same time, by the way, that Bellini painted the Portrait of a Gonzaga in the Bergamo Gallery, which, like the SS. Giovanni e Paolo polyptych, with which it certainly goes, we used to attribute to Bonsignori (fig. 29).

³ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 2, fig. 362.

⁴ The butler serving St. Louis is in every respect singularly like the butler in a small picture of the school of Cossa, now at Pesaro, representing the sudden death of the Knight of Celano while St. Francis is dining with him (fig. 42).



FIG. 28. ERCOLE ROBERTI: ST. JEROME

Ferrara Gallery



FIG. 29. GIOVANNI BELLINI: PORTRAIT OF A GONZAGA
Bergamo, Carrara Gallery



FIG. 30. VENETIAN: COLOURED WOODCUT
From the Edition of 1500 of *Kethem*

less frequently the farther away the Courts. Why one finds them, as well as the tall cap and the smart doublets and short mantles, in the S. Bernardino panels at Perugia, particularly in those designed by Sienese artists, is a little problem that it would be illuminating to solve. Florence shows no trace of such foot-gear after 1460, and very little for a decade or two before. In Ferrara, however, strictly feudal fashions prevailed, and Cossa's young men wear their shoes extremely pointed. Indeed, it is doubtful whether in France or even in Burgundy you would find a more elegant rat-tail than on the feet of the ultra-smart young buck who poses and swaggers in the St. Vincent *predella*,¹ painted towards 1474.

It is the same with another striking feature of costume, parti-coloured or striped tight-fitting hose. Occasionally, though less frequently than the tipped shoes, they do occur, but in two colours only, in the pageant pictures which decorated *cassoni*, *deschi da parto*, mirror-cases, &c., in the Florence of the first half of the *Quattrocento*, with its healthy bourgeois hankering after the pomp and circumstance of chivalry. After 1460 there is little or no trace of these fashions in Valdarno, for forty or fifty years. When we see them again, it is towards 1500, in representations of foreign soldiery, as in Granacci's Entry of Charles VIII into Florence, or in the frescoes on the Porch of the Pieve di Cercina, on the slopes of Monte Morello. The earliest instance I can discover in Central Italy of a return to parti-coloured or striped hose is on a Bicherna panel of 1478-9 in the Sienese Archives, representing the Entry of the Duke of Calabria into Colle di Val d'Elsa, a foreigner with foreign-clad, if not foreign-born troops.

Striped hose then became a livery for servants and for soldiers, and it is to this use that they are put by Pintoricchio

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 3, figs. 472, 475.

soberly (at Siena), and by Signorelli extravagantly (at Monte Oliveto Maggiore), but after 1500. In Northern Italy they reappear at about the same time, and for the same purpose, namely as a livery, except in the case of the Venetian dandies belonging to the smart Club of the Hose (Compagnia della Calza). A curious instance may be cited to show that in 1500 they were regarded as indispensable in Venetia. Everybody is acquainted with the woodcuts in Ketham's *Fasciculus medicinae*, published in Venice in 1493. It contains woodcuts inferior to none designed in the Venetian manner. The other day Messrs. Goldschmidt and Co. of London offered a reprint dated 1500. Here the woodcuts are coloured by hand, and the head servant wears elaborately striped hose (fig. 30), instead of the plain ones of the first edition.¹ After the seven years between the first and second edition—so quickly does fashion change—a head servant without striped hose would probably have disgraced a great house. In our series of panels, the valets of St. Louis wear Court dress, but those of Herod have the striped hose, and so may have been painted a year or two later. The blackamoor in the Preaching of St. Vincent (fig. 9) wears them parti-coloured, perhaps as a livery, as he is perhaps doing police duty.

In the last-mentioned picture, as well as in the one representing St. Thomas teaching (fig. 3), we find three or four different kinds of male head-gear. There are no tall thimble-shaped felt hats, but some much-diminished versions, reduced, here and there, to all but skull-caps. This change succeeded to the other and in reaction to it, so that it may have taken ten years or so to shrink to the more modest height at which it was worn everywhere through the entire ninth decade of the century.²

¹ Molmenti, *Storia di Venezia nella Vita Privata*, i, p. 407.

² All the Bentivoglio males, men of great rank and fashion, wear it in Costa's



FIG. 31. PIERO POLLAJUOLO: PROFILE OF WOMAN
Florence, Uffizi



FIG. 32. BENOZZO GOZZOLI: MIRACLE OF ST. DOMINIC
Milan, Brera



FIG. 33. MANTEGNA: DETAIL OF NATIVITY

New York, Mr. Clarence Mackay

Another type is the low hat with the stiff, flat, circular top projecting beyond the brim, which fits close to the skull. We connect it chiefly with the Gonzagas and their Court at Mantua, where in Mantegna's frescoes in the *Camera degli Sposi* it is worn by nearly every man who has passed out of the strutting, swaggering age.¹ Outside Mantua and its closely affiliated Verona, this hat occurs so seldom—although it does occur—that it is fair to presume, until we have clear proof to the contrary, that when a painting contains this type of hat, then either the person wearing it or the painter himself must have been a Mantuan or a Veronese. In Verona old gentlemen still wore it as late as 1503, as we find it in Domenico Morone's fresco in the Library of S. Bernardino (fig. 68).

While deep in the *Chapître sur les chapeaux*, let us by no means neglect turbans. The three elderly gentlemen who sit in the lower right-hand corner listening, greatly troubled, to St. Vincent's preaching (fig. 9) are Jews, and wear turbans, real Oriental ones, wound around the head in proper Eastern fashion, not loosely and flimsily as we may find them anywhere in *Quattrocento* Italian painting. These turbans betray an interest in Muslim costume which only Venice and its provinces cultivated from the commencement of the fourteenth century, but more particularly after Gentile Bellini's epoch-making visit to Constantinople, which was the beginning of the Romantic attitude of us Westerners towards Eastern costume, Eastern architecture, and Eastern aspects in general. It was some time before this interest spread beyond Venetia, except in such sporadic cases as Pintoricchio's direct borrowings from Gentile Bellini. Elsewhere, if before the end of the century you find a well-wound turban, particularly in Tuscany, you may suspect

altar-piece of 1488 at S. Giacomo Maggiore in Bologna (Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 3, p. 763).

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 3, figs. 121-37.

the influence of Venice on Liberale, or on Girolamo da Cremona, who was particularly fond of using turbans and was an adept at twisting them.

While we are lingering over this inexhaustible subject of costume, we must take a glance at the hair of the women, than which nothing is more responsive to the dictates of fashion. In the *Birth of Thomas* (fig. 1) the expostulating lady, who appears in profile, wears her hair tight on her skull, but with wisps over the temples, and with a flattened chignon on the back of her head. This is a coiffure which may occur freakishly at an earlier date, but begins to be common towards 1470 only, as in Gentile Bellini's *Berlin Madonna with male and female donors*,¹ in Piero Pollajuolo's miniature portrait of a lady in the Uffizi (fig. 31), or in the Cossesque profile of Alessandro Gozzadini's wife now in the Lehman Collection at New York.² This mode may have lingered on till towards the end of the century. It is, however, the latest feature in a work of art that determines its earliest possible date. Such a detail is the hair of the rustically well-to-do Salome in the *Feast of Herod* (fig. 8). Her hair, kept close to the head, ripples down from her neck in a veritable cascade. Clearly the next step taken by the hairdresser was to imprison this riot in a stiff switch, such as deforms Milanese and other great ladies for some fifteen or twenty years after 1490 or so. But before this happened Bianchi Ferrari painted a *Noli me Tangere*, now in the Modena Gallery, where the Magdalen offers a perfect parallel to the studied dishevelment of our Salome.³

As I have already said of the specialist in the history of architecture, so his colleague in the history of dress might have a good deal more to say; but I believe he would only amplify and confirm what we have been discovering for

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 4, fig. 122.

² Ibid. vii. 3, fig. 487.

³ Ibid., p. 1069.

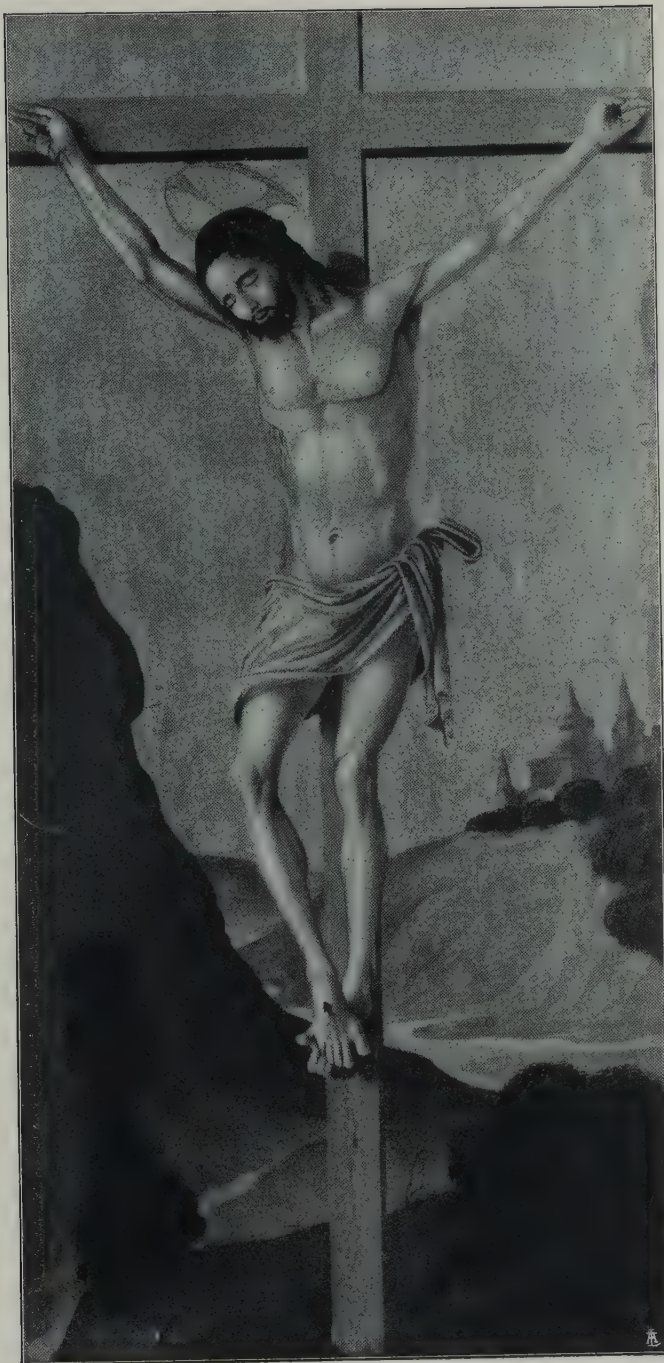


FIG. 34. DOMENICO MORONE: CHRIST ON CROSS

London, Mr. A. L. Nicholson



FIG. 35. DOMENICO MORONE: KING RECEIVING YOUTHFUL AMBASSADOR

London, Mr. Durlacher

ourselves. We, too, without being specialists, could pursue the subject into minuter details that lie less on the surface; but as costume does not interest us for its own sake—not here, at least—what has been said in this subsection is enough, if carefully considered, to establish that these panels were painted by some Venetic painter not earlier certainly than 1475, nor later than 1495, and in all probability much nearer the second than the first date. Moreover, the region in which such raiment is most likely to have been worn turns out to be the territory that includes Mantua and Verona; and as Mantua had no painters except Mantegna and his sons, to whom nobody is likely to think of attributing our nine panels, it follows that they must be Veronese.

It will be remembered that the study of the architecture and its appurtenances in this series of pictures led to the same conclusions, not as to place alone, but likewise as to the time when they must have been painted.

As we proceed in this inquiry, according to our method, from the more obvious to the less obvious, that is to say from what is nearer to geometrical definition to what is farther away from such precise and clear statement, we come, after examining the architecture and the costume, to the landscape.

The landscape in our nine panels plays a small part, except in the Baptism (fig. 7), where, however, the conspicuous features are of the rather romantic kind that might occur sporadically anywhere in Italy after about 1470. We derive more information from the bit of out-of-doors that is visible in the Birth of Thomas (fig. 1), where beyond the garden wall we see gentle slopes, studded with round trees, and rising to a pile of rocks. These rocks have a vertical tendency, which fact, along with the rest of the pattern of this glimpse of nature, is typical of the Squarcio-

nesque school and its offshoots for two or more generations. We find it frequently in Mantegna himself, more especially in his earlier years, and, in a somewhat softened form, to the end of his career, and also in the engravings of his invention, no less than in paintings. We find it in the young Bellinis; strikingly in Gentile's organ shutters at San Marco;¹ in the Vivarini; in such a faithful though singularly belated follower of the Paduans as the Milanese Butinone; and in the even more belated Bramantino, in such works as his Philemon and Baucis at Cologne, his Nativity in the Ambrosiana (Photo Anderson, III27), and his Epiphany from the Layard Collection, now in the National Gallery.² Verona, the relations of which to Padua and Mantua were, during the course of the Renaissance, as we have already observed more than once, so close and intimate, naturally adopted and cherished this arabesque. There is hardly any Veronese painter, from Benaglio through Liberale and his contemporaries to Carotto and Brusasorci, who fails to use it, although in a progressively more and more softened yet still recognizable shape.

At this point it would aid us not a little if we were to direct our attention for a while to the colour and technique of this series of pictures. Landscape in all cases is peculiarly dependent upon both, yet never more than when, as in these inconspicuous backgrounds, it is done with little thought and almost by rote. Yet I can say nothing convincing, because the reader, seeing the reproduction alone, would not be able to follow, but would have to rely on my authority. If he respects it, I use it to assure him that nothing could be more characteristically Veronese. It is so vivid, and, far from being merely the tinting and staining of a drawing, as the Central Italian way is, so conceived and executed in

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 3, fig. 325.

² See Suida's *Jugendwerke des Bartolommeo Suardi genannt Bramantino* in *Jahrb. des allerhöchst. Kaiserhauses*, xxv, Heft I, fig. 1 and pls. 1 and 2.

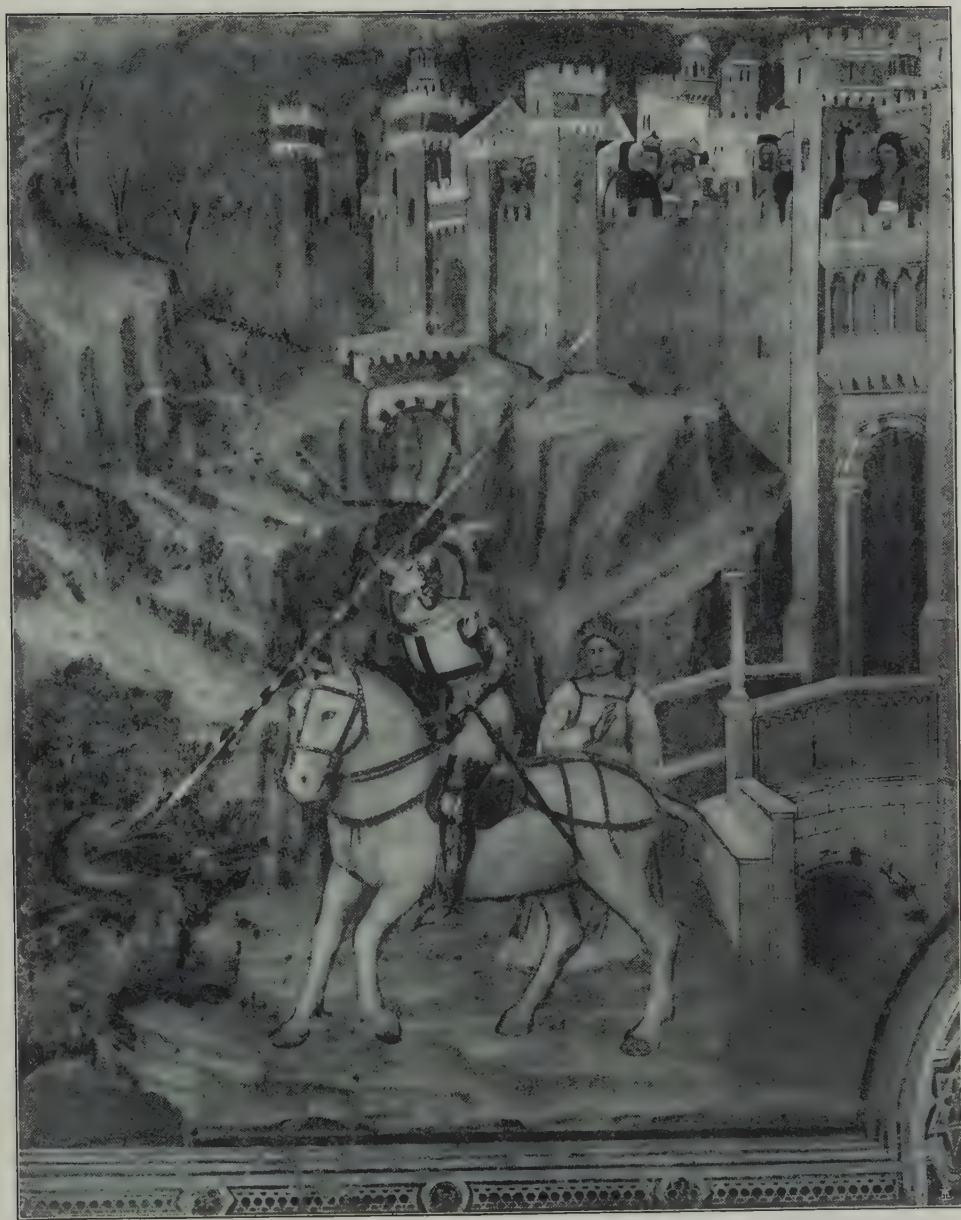


FIG. 36. ALTICHIERO: ST. GEORGE

Padua, Oratorio di S. Giorgio



FIG. 37. LIBERALE DA VERONA: GRADUALE 10, FOL. 73
Siena, Piccolomini Library



FIG. 38. DOMENICO MORONE: DETAIL OF MIRACLE OF ST. DOMINIC
New York, Metropolitan Museum

pigment, that we are reminded of South German landscape. Now in art matters Verona was, from the time of the Othos down to Charles V, the chief if not the sole viaduct between Italy and Teutonia.

A peculiarity of these backgrounds is the care-free way in which the foliage is scratched in and lit up. We have approaches to it already in Mantegna's earlier work, as, for instance, in the Boughton-Knight Nativity (now belonging to Mr. Clarence Mackay, in New York, fig. 33). Liberale and the quasi-Veronese Girolamo da Cremona in their miniatures seem to hand on this usage to our authors.¹ Unfortunately, reproductions of these would give no results; but I can offer one of a Crucifixion (fig. 34) belonging to Mr. A. L. Nicholson of London, which even in black and white shows a perfect parallel to the trees and foliage in the landscapes of our panels. This small picture is Veronese, and in my opinion by Domenico Morone.

We have now investigated, though far from exhaustively, the inanimate parts of our nine panels, namely the buildings, the costumes, and the landscape, in the reverse order to their obviousness. We have at last arrived at the living things, biped and quadruped.

The latter occur only in the Miracle of St. Dominic (fig. 5), and are a dog tranquilly sucking his paw, and a horse even more peaceably static, although he has just thrown his rider. I have nothing at all to say about the dog. As for the horse, he is no thoroughbred, no Arab; nor had any living steed or charger, or even any humble beast of burden, the responsibility of being his sire. His descent is nevertheless clear and clean. It is in the straight line from stuffed horse back to the bronze creatures prancing over the porch of San Marco. Of course in a sense all the horses in Italian

¹ See particularly (at Siena) *Graduale* no. 3, fol. 11 and fol. 83; *Graduale* no. 4, fol. 26; *Graduale* no. 8, fol. 100 and fol. 132.

fifteenth-century sculpture and painting were begotten upon the minds of their authors by these same bronze animals; for never will man have commerce with nature when a great work of art bars the way. It is only at Florence, or Bologna, or elsewhere well inland that draughtsmen had seen horses in abundance and had unconsciously acquired in their own lungs and limbs and muscles a sense of equine life and action. For a Venetian of the fifteenth century this was out of the question, as horses had already disappeared from the moles and bridges where they still curvetted in the heyday of Chivalry. The Venetian artist alone had the pure breed, never bastardized by contact, however unconscious, with the living animal.

But Verona, it will be protested, was on the *terra firma*. Yes, and so was Padua; but so jealous was the power of Venice that I defy any one to find a horse derived from either town which is not a thoroughbred San Marco. If his author is a Mantegna or a Paul Veronese, his horse will be nearer in aspect and quality to the bronze original. If he is an inferior, the product will be inferior: that is the only difference.

Now the horse in our *Miracle of St. Dominic* (fig. 5) was painted by an artist who is, on the whole, of about the calibre of a Benozzo Gozzoli; yet how incomparably superior is Benozzo's horse, and, paradoxically enough, how much closer is his sire to St. Mark's, than the horse in our panel. We select as an example Benozzo's painting in the Brera, which happens to have the merit of representing the same subject (fig. 32) as ours. Again, if we compare our horse with Altichiero's in the *Oratorio di San Giorgio* at Padua (fig. 36), we are assured of his Venetic origin. If we compare him further with the most prominent horse in a picture by Domenico Morone, at present in the hands of Messrs. Durlacher of London, representing a King receiving



FIG. 39. GIROLAMO DAI LIBRI: ST. PETER
London, National Gallery, Mond Bequest



FIG. 40. MARCO ZOPPO: PEN DRAWING—MADONNA AND SAINTS
Brunswick Museum

in state a youthful Envoy (fig. 35), we must allow that they are all but identical, as is also the case in Morone's masterpiece, the Expulsion from Mantua of the Bonacolsis by the Gonzagas (fig. 17), in spite of a certain rocking-horse dash and hardness, as if they were made of wood rather than stuffing. Now both Altichiero and Morone were Veronese.

So much for the quadrupeds. As for the bipeds, we have already made close acquaintance with their silhouettes while studying their costumes, and seen that they belong to Northern Italy in general, and to Mantua-Verona in particular, and that with regard to time they belong to the score of years between 1475-95, and to the end rather than the beginning of that period.

The heads tend to be small and round, as with most of the Veronese of the decades before and after 1500, Domenico Morone in particular, and Francesco Morone and Girolamo dai Libri, his closest followers. The reader will scarcely disagree with this statement if he will consult a fairly complete set of photographs of the works of these artists, or even those which have been reproduced by Venturi (*Storia*, vii, cf. figs. 498-1512).

Besides being rather round and small, the heads of Veronese painters have, as Mr. Bryson Burroughs says, 'bumpy' faces. No doubt he means that the planes on the faces are small, that there is too much projection and hollow in relation to the surface, that these heads are crudely over-modelled and tend to look like walnuts. Now all this is not confined to our series, but is a peculiarity of the Veronese painting of the time we have chiefly in mind. This peculiarity was no doubt due to the influence of Mantegna—witness his Cardinal Scarampo at Berlin¹—and it lasts, in softened fashion, well on into the *Cinquecento*. It is still visible in Badile's altar-piece already

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 3, fig. 89.

referred to (fig. 20), and is plainly perceptible in Paolo Caliari's early work, the Portrait of Pasio Guadienti at Verona. Nearer to our exact period we have numerous parallels in Liberale's miniatures at Siena, such as the one we here reproduce out of *Graduale* no. 10, folio 73 (fig. 37). Moreover Girolamo dai Libri offers many parallels to the best head in our entire series, the one belonging to the second figure from the left in the Miracle of St. Dominic (fig. 38), which is clearly enough a studied portrait. Among such parallels are heads in Girolamo dai Libri's altar-piece at S. Anastasia,¹ his Nativity (*ibid.*, fig. 508), his St. Anne with her Offspring at S. Paolo, which are all at Verona, and the St. Peter from the Mond Collection, which I reproduce (fig. 39), not because it is more to my purpose than the others, but that it is even less known. But the closest resemblances will be found in Domenico Morone's paintings. We shall study these at considerable length later on, and so can pass over them here.

Before leaving heads and faces, I would draw attention to a bearded Cardinal who sits next to the Pope in St. Thomas's last lecture, as we may call it (fig. 3). This distinguished and imposing visage reminds us a little of one in Benaglio's triptych at S. Bernardino in Verona,² but more still of a St. Jerome by Ercole Roberti in the Berlin Gallery,³ and most of all of another St. Jerome in a triptych probably by Zenale in S. Ambrogio at Milan.⁴ The resemblance is no doubt due to some Mantegnesque prototype, now lost, but adumbrated by various extant figures dating from the St. Luke polyptych in the Brera, Mantegna's early work,⁵ to the St. Jerome in the late altar-piece in the Trivulzio Collection.⁶

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 4, fig. 512.

³ *Ibid.*, fig. 498.

⁵ *Ibid.* vii. 3, fig. 93.

² *Ibid.* vii. 3, fig. 344.

⁴ *Ibid.* vii. 4, fig. 579.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 167.



FIG. 41. GIROLAMO DA CREMONA: POPPAEA GIVING ALMS TO ST. PETER

London, Mr. L. Clarke



FIG. 42. SCHOOL OF COSSA: DEATH OF KNIGHT OF CELANO
Fesaro, Municipal Gallery

While still on the subject of types, let us take a glance at the children. They are loose-limbed, chubby, and unattractive. The infants in Florentine and in most Central Italian painting of the *Quattrocento* are apt to be pretty, as in the works of Benozzo and Ghirlandajo, of Neroccio and Benvenuto, of Antoniazio and Perugino; but in North Italy they are sprawling, clumsy, and unlovely. It is thus that Squarcione presented the infant, and thus he remained until the mature Mantegna took pity on him, and Leonardo came, with his Florentine delight in lovely children, and in his work at Milan went even beyond a merely humanizing presentation. In our Birth of Thomas, the infant reminds us of Squarcione,¹ of Schiavone,² of Niccolò da Verona,³ of Cossa,⁴ of Butinone,⁵ of Foppa,⁶ and of Zoppo as in our reproduction (fig. 40).

Finally, the Miracle of St. Dominic (fig. 5), the young Napoleone, who has been brought back to life and is being presented by the Saint to his uncle the Cardinal, is not only the same figure, reversed with slight changes, as the first servant in Herod's Feast (fig. 8), but has the same build and swing as the butler in the Feast of St. Louis (frontispiece). Now these proportions, and particularly this way of stepping out, are curiously like the manservant in Girolamo da Cremona's little panel representing Poppaea giving Alms to St. Peter, now belonging to Mr. L. Clarke of London (fig. 41), and are even closer to the steward in another panel at Pesaro, painted by a follower of Cossa, representing St. Francis and the Knight of Celano (fig. 42). Here again we undoubtedly have a stock figure of Squarcione-Mantegna origin, which artists from various parts of the Valley of the Po were accustomed to use as a matter of course.

¹ Ibid., fig. 2.

³ Ibid., fig. 358.

⁵ Ibid. vii. 4 fig. 577.

² Ibid., figs. 18, 23, 24.

⁴ Ibid., fig. 481.

⁶ Ibid., fig. 556.

In this examination I have by no means brought to bear all the evidence I had in view myself, and much that has escaped me might be adduced by specialists in architecture and costume: not only more in quantity, but more telling, more convincing. Yet I hope that what I have said suffices to put beyond question the place and the date to which our series of nine panels belongs. It is true that this or that piece of evidence taken alone might not be conclusive, particularly as we must always be on our guard against two disturbing and confusing factors. The less important of these is the migratory tendency of the artist. We are accustomed from of old to reckon with the presence of a Donatello, a Castagno, an Antonello da Messina, a Leonardo in North Italy; but it perhaps has occurred to none of us to take into full account the effect that North Italian painters had in turn upon the art of Central Italy. Florence, it is true, was as impervious to foreign influences as was Paris in the thirteenth century, or Athens seventeen hundred years earlier. But we cannot understand the course of painting in Siena after 1470 without giving Liberale, Girolamo da Cremona, and Sodoma their due.

The other disturbing element is the fact that Florentine *Quattrocento* painting before 1460 is nostalgic and full of yearnings, romantic in its attitude not only towards the recently departed Chivalry, reduced to a pageantry in which every cautious shopkeeper could safely take part, but also towards a period remoter in time but almost nearer in mood—I mean Antiquity. Thus in Florence before 1460 we not only have the elegant fopperies and elaborations of Court dress appropriate to jousts, triumphs, and pageants, but we find these same details carried over into sacred art as well. Also during this period an attempt was made to introduce an architecture answering to the painter's notion of the Antique, a romantic rather than an archaeological

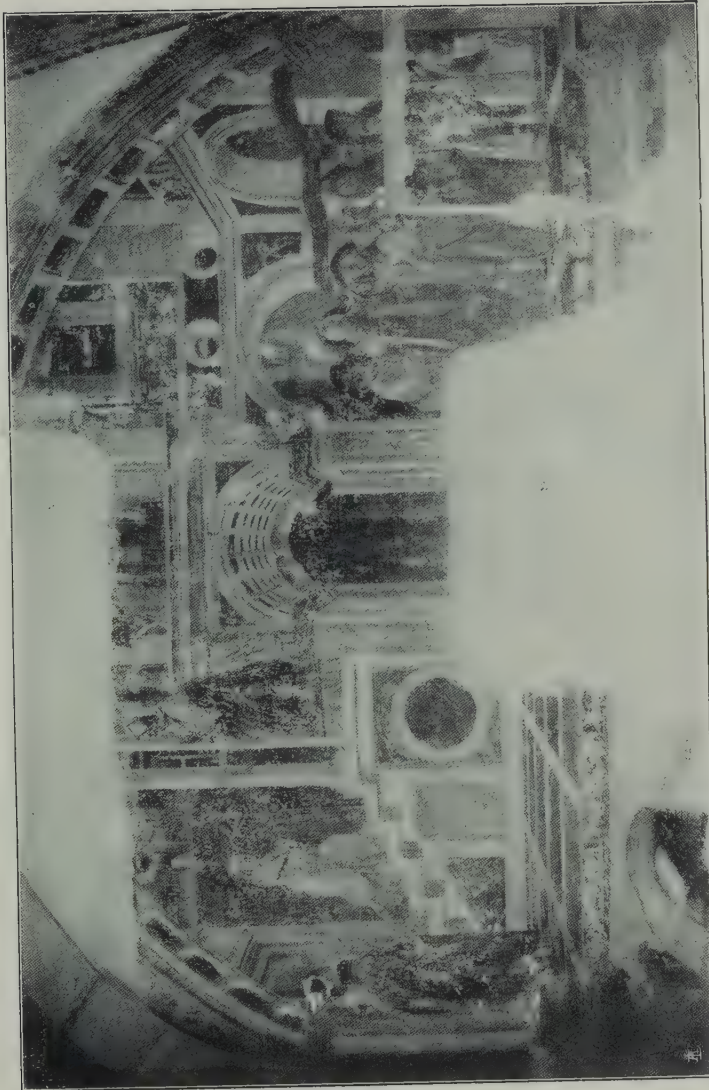


FIG. 43. FLORENTINE, CLOSE TO CARRAND MASTER :
FRESCO—PRESENTATION OF VIRGIN
Lucca, S. Francesco



FIG. 44. DOMENICO MORONE: PREACHING OF (?) ST. PETER MARTYR
Vienna, Este Gallery

notion, yet well on the way to the romantically classicizing ideals of North Italians in the last decades of the century.¹

When these disturbing factors have been eliminated, or allowed for, the evidence we have been examining will lead us to discard Florence utterly, and the rest of Central Italy only less decisively, and so will bring us to the Po Valley, and more especially Venetia. No doubt this or that trait could be paralleled in Bologna, in Modena, in Milan, and even more frequently in Ferrara, but this circumstance, as we have seen, need not surprise us; for the painting in that entire region in the second half of the fifteenth century radiates out from Padua, and Ferrara, from the point of view of culture, was as much a suburb of Padua as Perugia was of Florence. For all these reasons it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the painter of our series of panels was a Veronese, and that he must have executed them no earlier than 1480 and no later than 1490.

There is only one more point which I wish to make with regard to the date. It is this. *Quattrocento* painting under Court influences, both in Italy and elsewhere, is full of strutting, swaggering, vulgarly self-assertive, insolent young and youngish men. Florence, I am happy to think, was in those days too refined for such exhibitionism, and it may be recalled that Niccolò Niccoli had but to utter a word to convert a young man with these tendencies into a scholar and a gentleman. But think of the men in Lorenzo's *Sposalizio* at Viterbo, of the youths in the much-discussed S. Bernardino series at Perugia, or in the frescoes at Tagliacozzo (Photo Anderson). As for the Schifanoia decorations, if one were to take the personages as characters and not as arabesques, one would turn from most of them

¹ A wonderful example must have been the fresco at S. Francesco in Lucca representing the Presentation and Marriage of the Blessed Virgin, painted by a Florentine close to the Master of the Carrand altar-piece (fig. 43). It is unfortunately much ruined.

with moral disgust. Now in our series there is no trace of all this, not even where a Court scene is represented. This simplicity, this dignity, this freedom from the least trace of exhibitionism, is evidence, in North Italy at least, of a date not earlier than the eighties.

For the sake of illustrating the method to be pursued in our studies, I must mention a source of information that may prove useful, although here it does not yield much. It is the exact time when a given Saint began to be worshipped in a given country. Here I do not refer to St. Thomas, who was an Italian himself and had been worshipped for generations before our period. But St. Vincent, the subject of our most important panel (fig. 9), was a foreigner, and of recent canonization. When did considerable works of art in his honour begin to be designed by Italians? I can discover no trace of anything of serious consequence before 1470.¹ Of the three most important works dedicated to St. Vincent, the Bellini polyptych was painted about 1475, the one by Cossa about the same date, and the Ghirlandajo altar-piece at Pesaro not before 1490. Evidently the worship of this Saint, although no doubt popular enough already, did not call for considerable works of art, until his fellow countrymen, the Borgias, induced Sixtus IV to give it fresh support.²

Returning to our own problem with this information, we are now able to see how far more likely it is that our Preaching of St. Vincent was painted after rather than before the revival or the increase of devotion to the Saint.

Thus far we have only been, so to speak, clearing the

¹ The one here reproduced (fig. 10) from S. Pietro Martire at Naples is Catalan-Valencian and painted for the capital of a Spanish possession.

² In a Spanish Life of the Saint (J. Sanchis Sivera, *Historia de San Vicente*, Valencia, 1896, p. 454) it is stated that in 1472 the Pope issued indulgences to the worshippers of St. Vincent in Florence.



FIG. 45. DOMENICO MORONE: PRIEST ADDRESSING A KNEELING WOMAN
Vienna, Este Gallery



FIG. 46. DOMENICO MORONE: SAINT RECEIVING MONK
Vienna, Este Gallery

decks for action. If this has taken us so long a time, the fault must be charged to unpreparedness, inadequate or damaged engines and ammunition, and lack of discipline and training in the crew. To speak unmetaphorically, it is high time to render impossible such errors as are committed by our most authoritative critics and practitioners. Not long ago one of the most prolific of these writers could mistake a product of the school of Cossa for a work of the remote Boccatis of Camerino; and he has insisted that the series which has been the subject, or rather the occasion, of the present essay in method was painted by a Florentine, by no other than Baldovinetti, and in 1450. Another has published a head at Dijon, certainly not earlier than 1500, which happens to be by the third-rate Romagnol market-town celebrity, Zaganelli, as a masterpiece by no less a Master than Antonello da Messina, who died three decades earlier. Most of the London critics, and many elsewhere, applauded, or at least admitted, the attribution to the same Master of a Venetic Madonna, again not earlier than 1500. It ought to be impossible to make errors of this kind. It is a fact that since 1200 at latest there are almost no works of art worth bothering about which, with rightly directed research, cannot be dated within twenty years; and in Italian painting, of the *Quattrocento* at least, the overwhelming majority can be placed within a decade. It is also a fact that the school to which a given picture must belong can almost always be definitely determined; and in the very few instances where one remains at a loss, one should be clearly aware of having been baffled and defeated. There is no longer any excuse for treating connoisseurship as a Guessing Game or as a field for freak attributions. All these extraneous questions can be decided irrespectively of the individual artist. First the time and the place, and then, only then, the artist.

The preceding pages, as I began by saying, were intended to furnish an example of how to discover when and where a work of art was produced. This had to be done for once in a way, and done in sufficient detail to show the method. If misstatements have crept in, whether as generalizations or restrictions, it is myself, with my ignorance, rashness, or incompetence, who must bear the blame, and not the method. And it is method I have been concerned with in this article. I am confident that the effort has been worth while, laborious and tedious as it has been, and that the method is right, even should the present results prove to be unsatisfactory.

And so at last we are prepared to transfer our investigation from the impersonal to the personal field, and to attempt to discover who the painter of our panels may have been. We must endeavour to attach this series to other works that we can prove to be by the same hand, using at this point the Morellian procedure, the best ever perfected for this purpose, namely the reintegration of an artistic personality from internal evidence; and if we are lucky enough, we may be able to give the entire group to an artistic personality whose name is known and attested by signatures, or documents, or trustworthy literary sources, or by all three together.

I had written thus far, when, in discussing the various ascriptions given to the Preaching of St. Vincent in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, the learned Keeper of the Hope Collection, my dear friend Mr. Charles Bell, drew my attention to one made by Dr. Suida. It had escaped me, because, in the first place, I am not so well acquainted with that eminent authority's writings as I ought to be, and in the second place because it occurs where I should certainly not have looked for it—in an article on miscellaneous



FIG. 47. DOMENICO MORONE: MIRACLE OF ST. VINCENT FERRER
Vienna, Este Gallery



FIG. 48. DOMENICO MORONE: TOURNAMENT

London, National Gallery

Lombard pictures of the fifteenth century.¹ In a short paragraph, lost in a jungle of attributions, Dr. Suida speaks of the Oxford panel as being by a Lombard contemporary of Foppa, active in the seventh or eighth decade of the *Quattrocento*. I may have a word or two to say about this a little later; but more interesting to me was the statement with which the paragraph ended, namely that the same hand was responsible for twelve panels recounting the Legend of St. Thomas in the Este Collection at Vienna. Fellow students can imagine with what haste I wrote to Dr. Tietze. He and Dr. Planiscig promptly sent me photographs, for which I am happy to give them public thanks.

Even the photographs make it certain that the Este panels are by the same hand as our nine, and that they belong to the precisely identical phase of the painter's activity. So standardized and so interchangeable are all the elements which these two series have in common, and which each of the one and twenty individual paintings have with every other, that they constitute ideal material for the exercise of the 'basta vedere' method of criticism.

If the purpose of the present essay were to present the completest attainable reconstruction of an artistic personality, I should have to recast what I have written and incorporate a relatively detailed account of each of these twelve new panels, from the point of view of illustration no less than that of decoration. But we can spare ourselves this task. Our chief interest here is in method; and that is better served by leaving untouched what the examination of the nine original panels has brought forth. We are thus left free to check the earlier results by the conclusions drawn from applying the same method to the twelve new panels.² Do these confirm or invalidate the assertion that

¹ *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1909, p. 484.

² These, by the way, could not have belonged to the five in the first series treating the Legend of St. Thomas. To begin with, they are of different shape,

these paintings are North, and not Central Italian, Veronese rather than Milanese or Ferrarese or Venetian, and that it is more reasonable to assign to them a date after 1480 rather than one as early as 1450? Happily we can be brief.

The architecture is predominantly of brick, and has all the characteristics that we discovered in our first series, but in an even more pronounced fashion. We find again the balconies with the special Verona-Mantua peculiarity of the awnings over them, the splaying of the openings, the parti-coloured materials, the apses, the arcading, as well as the same space relations and the same avoidance of diagonals. No one surely could mistake the piazza in which the Saint preaches (fig. 44), with its patently Lombard palace façade, for a city square in Tuscany or even Umbria; nor could any one imagine the church interior (fig. 45), with its square pillars, crowned with square double cornices and shod with square bases,¹ and its rectangular sides adorned with sunk panels, to be anything but a late *Quattrocento* structure of the Po Valley. Lastly, the group of buildings including a church tower (fig. 46), where the Saint in a porch receives a friend, cannot be anything but Veronese.

each measuring 60 by 35 cm. Then, it is not at all clear to me that all twelve deal with St. Thomas. The scene, for instance, where the preaching is interrupted by the runaway horses (fig. 44) seems to belong to the story of St. Peter Martyr. As for the legend of the child cut up, cooked, served for food, and brought to life again (fig. 47), that surely is one of the miracles of St. Vincent, akin to the one represented by Cossa in his Vatican *predella* (Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 3, fig. 473). By the way, this Este panel offers, on the carpet hanging down from the window, an even clearer instance of the so-called Ming arms pattern than we found in the Birth of Thomas (fig. 1). Still another of the subjects, the Baptism of two Jewesses (fig. 53), fits in with the hagiology of St. Vincent, and seems to recount his miracle at Ecija.

¹ A fairly close parallel to the cornice-like capitals at so early a date is furnished by Bartolommeo Montagna in his Martyrdom of San Biagio, at SS. Nazzaro e Celso in Verona, painted 1504-6 (Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 4, fig. 289).



FIG. 49. DOMENICO MORONE: SAINT HEALING THE SICK
Vienna, Este Gallery

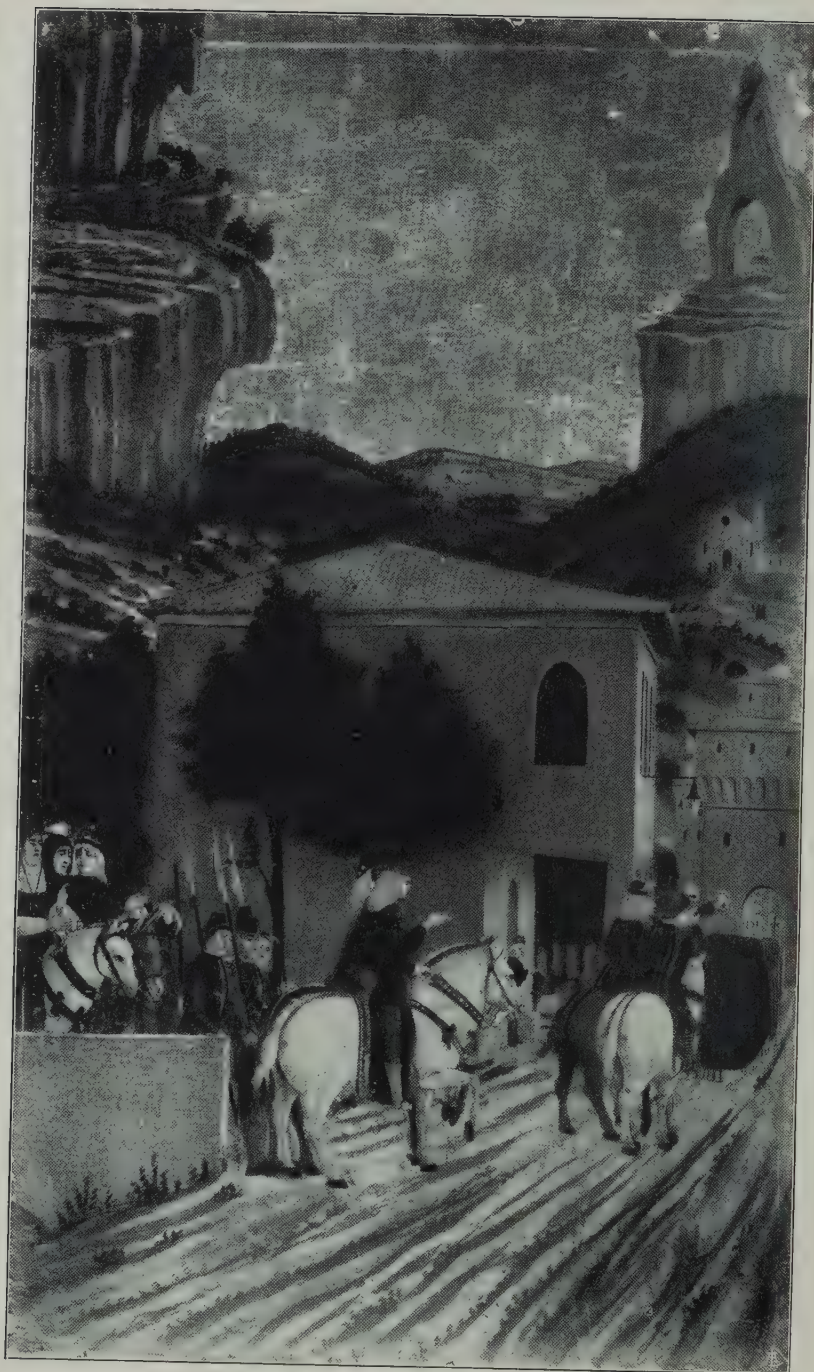


FIG. 50. DOMENICO MORONE: A PROCESSION

Vienna, Este Gallery

Dress and all that goes with it confirm what our study of apparel in the first series yielded. Thus, in the scene which shows a Saint performing miraculous cures (fig. 49), the swooning woman wears the same laced bodice as in Domenico Morone's *Tournament* in the National Gallery (fig. 48), painted no earlier than 1495. Better still, in the Este panel (fig. 50) representing a King with the Saint and a Cardinal in procession, preceded by halberdiers, by guards on horseback, by trumpeters and troops of friars, the guards and trumpeters wear jaunty caps with plumes over long hair, such as were worn towards the end of the century by ultra-fashionable youths and young soldiers. Numerous examples will start to one's memory from the paintings of Gentile Bellini, of Carpaccio, and even of Signorelli, all dating from the years just before or after 1500. I reproduce as examples two small pictures; the first, which seems to have been painted in 1490 or later, is in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A. (fig. 51), and its companion panel (fig. 52) was formerly in the Alphonse Kann Collection at Paris. They both show Ferrarese and Veronese traits, and the latter shows Milanese traits as well. What is even more relevant to our purpose is that the same caps and plumes and long curled locks appear in Domenico Morone's *Tournaments* in the National Gallery (figs. 48 and 55). Our twenty-one panels are not likely to be much earlier than 1490.¹

¹ The landscape in this *Procession* (fig. 50) is the most elaborate of any in the two series. It has jagged cliffs of tilted-up strata, and the cliff on the right is crowned with an arch surmounted by a sort of pyramid, that might easily be a ruined work of man. (How often at Luxor one is reminded of Ferrarese landscape when looking at the chaos of tossed or tilted stone pressing against the obelisks, and massed against the giant colonnades of Karnak!) It recalls Cossa more than any other North Italian, and adds to our sense of the interdependence and essential unity of all the schools which issued from Squarcione and Mantegna. Besides, from Pisanello and Matteo da Pasti onwards, there seems to have been a peculiar friendliness in matters of art between Verona and Ferrara, Mantua, no doubt, being the intermediary. Nor are points of contact between Domenico Morone and Cossa

In the Este panel representing the Baptism of two Jewesses (fig. 53), we see sculptured over the chancel wall Our Lord on the Cross between His Mother and the Evangelist. The lower part of a similar group occurs in another painting of the same series, depicting the reception of a novice. The gestures and the drapery in both vividly recall Francesco Morone's early work, the Crucifixion of 1498, in S. Bernardino at Verona.¹

V

We have thus ascertained that both series of panels were probably painted in Verona between 1480 and 1490. Our task now is to discover, if we can, which of the Veronese masters who were active about that date is the most likely to have painted them.

Let us first see what attributions these panels, in so far as they have hitherto been noticed, have received, from the time that connoisseurship became a quasi-serious pursuit. We can begin with the earliest and greatest master this pursuit has yet had; I mean, of course, Cavalcaselle. He ascribed the Preaching of St. Vincent (fig. 9) to Jacopo Bellini, and although he gives as his reason the resemblance of the heads to those in Jacopo's sketch-book, what probably influenced him more was the similarity in the character, perspective, and arrangement of the buildings. Some thirty years ago, in a pamphlet on the Venetian Exhibition held in London in the winter of 1894-5, I assigned this picture to the school of Domenico Morone, and in his notes to the new edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle

and his circle hard to find. Even Adolfo Venturi, so ready to see a Ferrarese hand in any picture that gives the slightest justification for it, does not hesitate to assign to Verona the Madonna with Four Saints at Munich (*Storia*, vii. 3, p. 449), which, but for the colour, belongs so conspicuously to the following of Tura.

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 4, fig. 498.



FIG. 51. VERONESE, LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY: YOUTH SALUTING KING
Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., Fogg Museum



FIG. 52. VERONESE, LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY: A DECAPITATION
Formerly belonging to M. Alphonse Kann, Paris

Dr. Borenius accepted this suggestion. A number of years later, in 1907, in my *North Italian Painters*, this panel figures in the list of Morone's works, and with it the Miracle of St. Dominic now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (fig. 5). Then Dr. Suida, in an article on Lombard painting in the fifteenth century, gave the Oxford panel to a contemporary of Foppa who must have been active between 1460 and 1480.¹ In his catalogue of the Jarves Collection published in 1916, Professor Sirèn enters our Birth of St. Thomas (fig. 1) as a 'Scene from the Infancy of a Saint, by Alesso Baldovinetti'. The same authority, together with Mr. Maurice Brockwell, in their catalogue of the loan exhibition of Italian primitives held at Messrs. Kleinberger's at New York in 1917, accepted the attribution to Morone of the Miracle of St. Dominic, gave good reasons for it, and ended with the interesting declaration that Morone reveals himself therein as 'an admirable painter of architectural views', and that 'he may in this respect be called a precursor of Canaletto and the other Venetian *veduta*-painters'.²

Perhaps when Professor Sirèn catalogued this last panel it had not yet occurred to him that the same hand had painted the Birth of St. Thomas, which a year before he had ascribed to the youthful Baldovinetti, and had dated 1450. In the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum for Nov. 1923 Mr. Bryson Burroughs, in a most scholarly discussion of both these panels, as well as of the St. Thomas seated reading between SS. Peter and Paul (fig. 2) and the St. Vincent preaching (fig. 9), says that Dr. Sirèn insists on ascribing them all to the Florentine follower of Domenico

¹ *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1909, p. 484.

² This reminds me of what I forgot to say in its proper place, that Morone's city squares have more in common with one by Magnasco in the Castello in Milan than with any painted by his Central Italian contemporaries (*Monatshefte*, 1915, pl. 59).

Veneziano, to whom he had given the Birth of St. Thomas. Finally, the compiler of the Engel-Gros Sale Catalogue (Paris, 1921) ascribes them to the painter of the S. Bernardino panels at Perugia.

We shall scarcely be required to discuss most of these attributions seriously. Our pictures certainly are not Florentine, and as certainly not earlier than 1470. It follows that their author could have been neither Alesso Baldovinetti nor Jacopo Bellini. The assimilation of these panels to the S. Bernardino series at Perugia, although untenable, is less absurd, for at any rate they come within the possible period, while the least absurd attribution is Dr. Suida's. By approaching them to Foppa, he brings them within the Squarcione-Mantegnesque sphere to which they actually belong. Let the student who desires proof for these assertions turn back to what has gone before. It is true I could give a great deal more evidence, but it would not be different in kind or quality from that already offered, and I am loath to bury an inquirer under a vast accumulation of material which is not merely superfluous as an appeal to reason, but hypnotizing or asphyxiating.

Brushing aside these various suggestions, as at this stage of our inquiry we have earned the right to do, we may ask, What becomes of my own? At all events Domenico was a Veronese and was painting in 1480-90. The stars in their courses do not fight against his being the author of these panels. The time and the place permit it. The only question is whether it was necessarily Domenico himself or whether it might not have been some other Veronese master of the same period. And so at last we have reached the field of Morellian connoisseurship, which offers no explicit method for establishing the school and the date of a given work of art, or for deciding whether it is an autograph work or a first-rate studio version (for that depends



FIG. 53. DOMENICO MORONE: ST. VINCENT FERRER BAPTIZING TWO JEWESSES
Vienna, Este Gallery

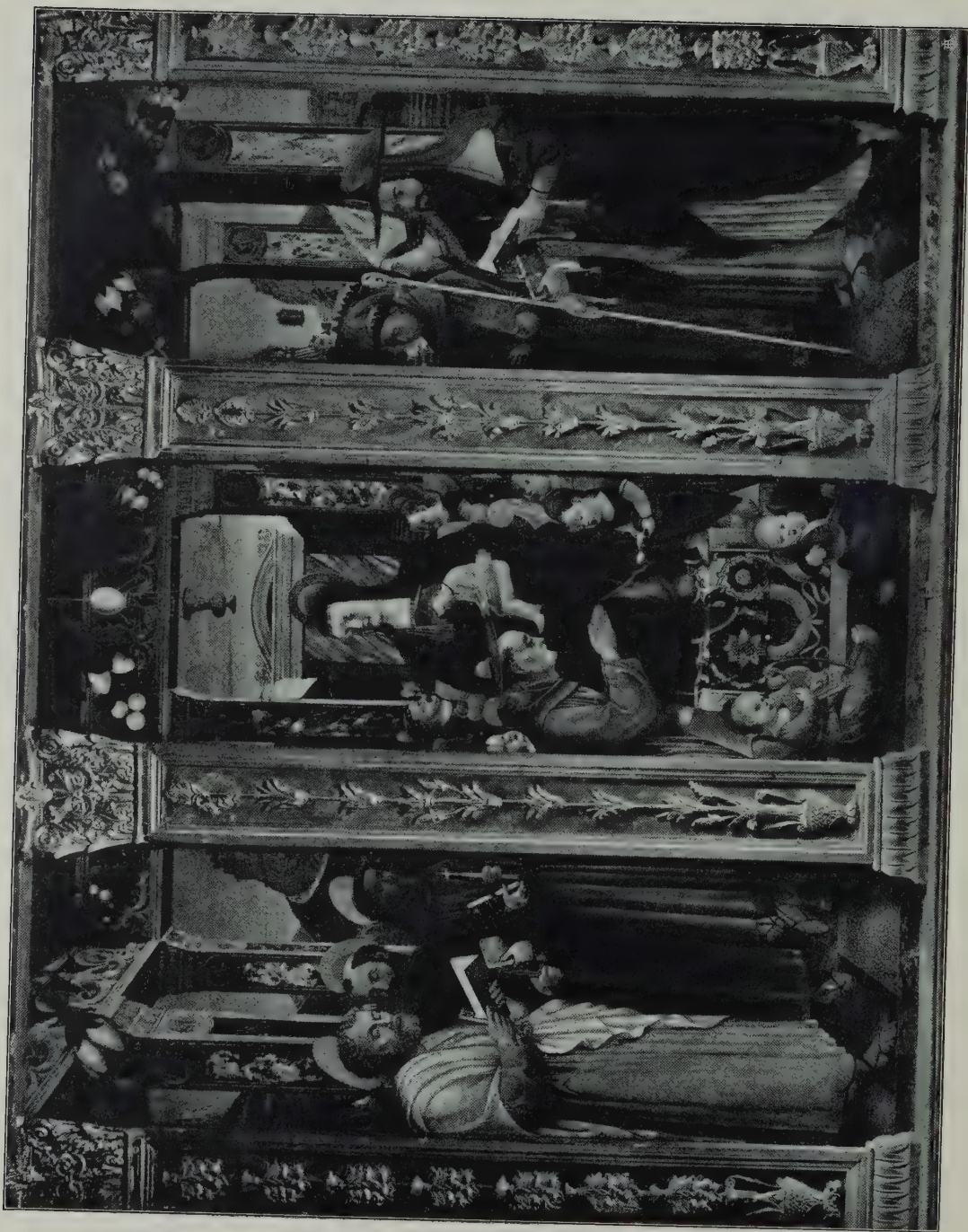


FIG 54. FRANCESCO BENAGLIO: ST. BERNARDINO TRIPTYCH
Verona, S. Bernardino

on the critic's sense of quality), but which is well suited for distinguishing between a master and his closest followers or competitors.

Allowing that these twenty-one panels are Veronese and that they were painted between 1480 and 1490, one is at a loss to whom to ascribe them, if not to Domenico Morone, or perchance his master, Francesco Benaglio. Although Benaglio is not mentioned after 1482, we must nevertheless concede that he might have lived on another ten years or so; and besides we must allow for the possibility that our little pictures are after all somewhat earlier than I am disposed to believe, and may have been painted by an artist who was active from 1462 to at least 1482. Except these two, we need not consider any other Veronese masters at present known to us, who were painting in the specified decade or even in the previous one. Liberale is too curvilinear, too calligraphic, and much too fluent for the style of our author. Gerola's 'Pittore del Cespo di Garofani',¹ whom Dorez identified with Francesco dai Libri, was surely inferior to such a task, and his son, Girolamo, was too young, as were also Francesco Morone and Michele da Verona, the close followers of Domenico Morone. We can safely limit our inquiry to Francesco Benaglio and Domenico Morone; and if neither of them comes out as the painter of our panels, the question of their authorship within the school of Verona must be left open.

To begin with the older master: of Benaglio we know only one signed picture, the triptych of 1462 at S. Bernardino in Verona (fig. 54). No other work can with any degree of security, or even plausibility, be assigned to him, except perhaps the Madonna with the three baby Angels trying to engage the solemn Infant Jesus in play

¹ *Madonna Verona*, v, p. 193 et seq.; Dorez in *Fondation Eugène Piot*, xvii, premier fascicule.

(fig. 56). The altar-piece exhibited as his in the Venice Academy¹ is Veronese, of course, and of the same generation; but I no longer feel compelled to accept it as Benaglio's, as I did when I made the catalogue of the Italian Masters of the J. G. Johnson Collection in Philadelphia. As for the fresco at S. Anastasia in Verona, representing Christ in the midst of His Disciples,² it surely is of a later date than the extreme limit of Benaglio's career, and is, besides, a libel on his fair fame—or on that of any one else worthy of the name of artist. But even if the four works just brought together could unite to form an artistic personality, it would not be easy to link it up with the twenty-one panels that we are trying to place. Reserving the right to reconsider Benaglio's claims if further research should demand it, we must now inquire what title Domenico Morone has to be regarded as their author.

Despite an activity of more than half a century, the certain works of Domenico Morone are few. The earliest dated one is the Madonna of 1484 in Berlin (no. 1456, fig. 61), which we shall return to presently. Next comes the battle picture representing the victory of the Gonzagas over the Bonacolsi (fig. 17), dated 1494, and the pictures that are obviously by the same hand, namely the two Tournaments in the National Gallery (figs. 48 and 55), the Envoy received by a King, at Messrs. Durlacher's (fig. 35), and a Prisoner before a Roman Magistrate, reproduced by Schubring.³ In 1502 Morone painted the frescoes at Paladon which have recently been placed in the Verona Museum.⁴ The chief interest of this hasty performance is that it confirms the traditional attribution to Domenico of the decorations in the Libreria of S. Bernardino, dated 1503. As we shall see a little later, it is not altogether convenient

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 3, p. 446.

² Cassoni, 955.

³ Ibid., p. 447.

⁴ *Madonna Verona*, iii, pls. 2 and 3.

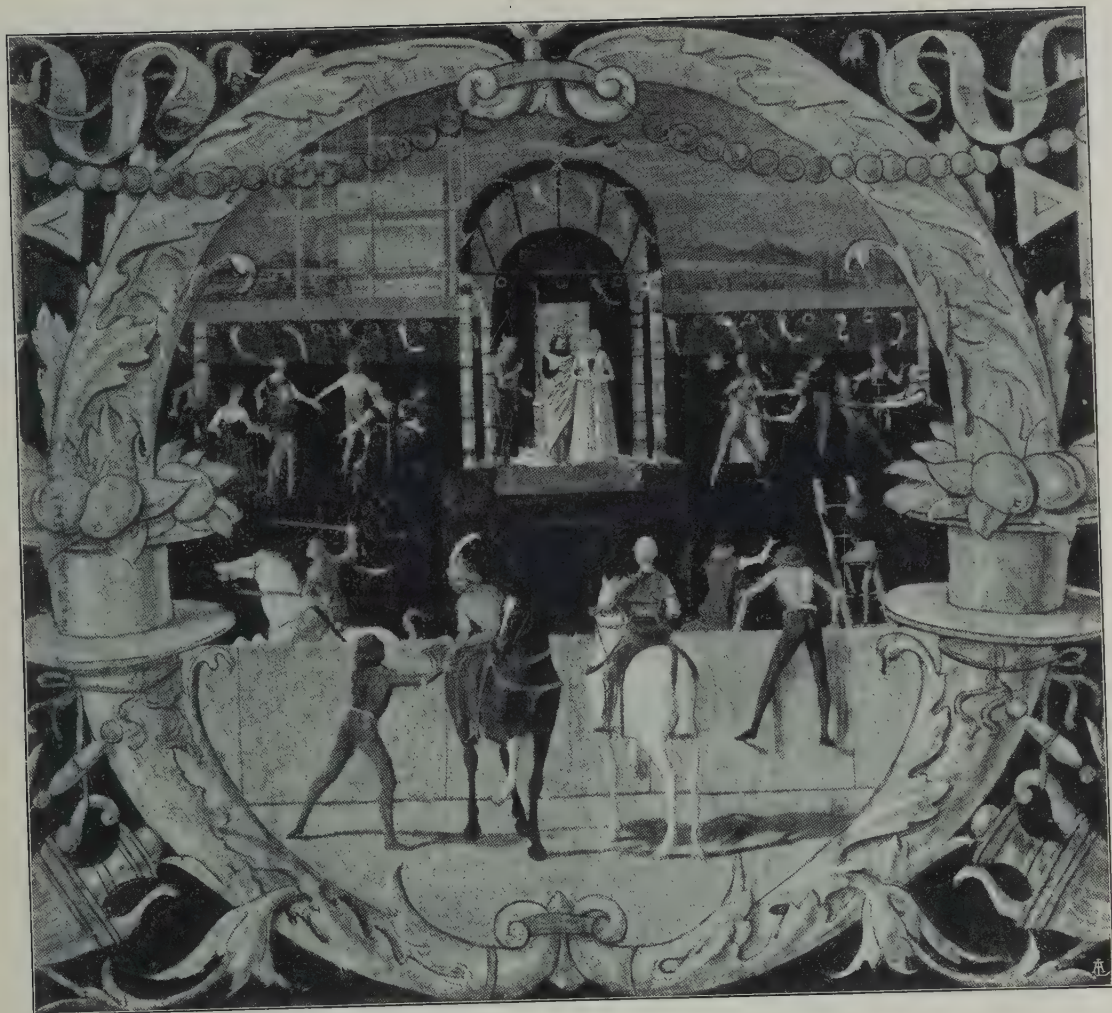


FIG. 55. DOMENICO MORONE: TOURNAMENT

London, National Gallery



FIG. 56. DOMENICO MORONE (?): MADONNA OF THE FAN
Verona Museum

to accept this ascription: some of us therefore ascribed to Domenico's follower, Michele, these frescoes and other paintings certainly or at least probably by the same hand, such as the Madonna, with an *Ecce Homo* above, in the collection of the late Aldo Nosedà of Milan (fig. 69), the Madonna with the two St. Catherines, at Stuttgart,¹ or the *predella* with the Legend of S. Biagio in the Vicenza Museum (fig. 66). No doubt it was taking liberties with one's subject, but Michele for a time served, like Bissolo, Basaiti, Cariani, &c., as a convenient waste-paper basket for throwing pictures into when we did not know what else to do with them. The frescoes in the church of S. Bernardino at Verona, representing the Miracles of St. Antony of Padua, are in such a deplorable state of ruin and repainting that it is far from easy to use them as material for our researches, or to determine their exact date. I repeat that this is an essay in Method, and its purpose is not the reconstruction of Domenico Morone's artistic personality, with which we are only concerned in so far as it may assist us in discovering the author of our twenty-one panels. We can thus afford to neglect the last phase of Morone's career, although we may hazard the statement that the Stuttgart Madonna with the two St. Catherines was painted as late as 1510. Our special problem is bound up rather with his earlier activities, and the more we know of them the better. I am not without some hope of establishing that we have four important paintings of his dating from that period, and perhaps more.

Let us begin with the more important ones. All are Madonnas. The earliest is in the Musée André in Paris (fig. 57), the second at M. Chalandon's, also in Paris (fig. 58), the third in the Widener Collection at Philadelphia (fig. 60), and the fourth in the Galleria Tadini at Lovere (fig. 59). Follow-

¹ Ibid. i, opp. p. 10.

ing the 'basta vedere' method of connoisseurship, which in this instance is adequate to the purpose, we see that all four are by the same hand, and in nearly the same phase.

We cannot in this study, already so protracted, attempt to do justice to these crude, truly primitive, but imposing and highly decorative figures. We must speed on to our goal, which is archaeological and not aesthetical, concerned with questions of authorship and not of artistic quality and value. In the Widener catalogue I wrote as follows of the finest of these four pictures:—'81 by 58 cm. This grandiose and gorgeous figure of idol-like splendour and poetical impressiveness passed not long ago for a work by Piero della Francesca. It is an attribution that must have been made by some one better acquainted with the emotion-stirring than with the formal side of that heroic painter's art. The Madonna is obviously Veronese, as the whole scheme of colour and decoration betrays, and is evidently by a follower of Mantegna, as is made clear by the details of the landscape and the small figures of the wayfarers.'

It is needless to insist that if we take the three other Madonnas into consideration along with the Widener one, we get an even stronger sense that they are by a Squarcionesque master, strange, crude, absurd, and altogether fascinating, like Squarcione himself, like Gregorio Schiavone, like Zoppo, or like Crivelli in his earliest phase. Only our author, instead of a tendency to being too firm, too hard, prefers to inflate the figures to a monumental size and to use shapes approaching the geometrical.

This inclination is a special characteristic of the Veronese followers of Squarcione and Mantegna as of no other painters, and leads finally—after considerable deflation, to be sure—to those round faces, rivalling at times the late Perugino's for inanity, that look out at us from the paintings of Francesco Morone and Girolamo dai Libri.



FIG. 57. DOMENICO MORONE: MADONNA
Paris, Musée André



FIG. 58. DOMENICO MORONE: MADONNA
Paris, Chalandon Collection

The date of these four Madonnas is not hard to settle. They are in every way related to and perhaps inspired by the Madonnas that Giovanni Bellini was designing towards 1475, as, for instance, the one in the Gardner Museum in Boston,¹ the one formerly in the Crespi Collection and now in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A.,² the Lehman picture in New York,³ the one at Verona,⁴ another in the Venice Academy,⁵ &c., &c. The coiffure of the four Madonnas is like that of the Pollajuolo profile reproduced here (fig. 31), and the Cossesque Portrait of a Gozzadini in the Lehman Collection,⁶ and even more like that of St. Lucy (fig. 62) in the Zenale-Butinone polyptych at Treviglio, which is as late as 1485. This important item of costume would allow us to date the four pictures somewhere in the eighth decade of the *Quattrocento*, and more plausibly after than before 1475.⁷

Behind Our Lady in the André picture (fig. 57) we see a spacious piazza, palaces with the characteristically Veronese stilted arches for window openings, and a church with an equally Veronese juxtaposition of apse and door. Young men walk about and stop to chat. They are dressed in the dandified, mincing costumes of the younger people in Mantegna's Mantuan frescoes, and would thus be of about the date indicated by the coiffure and the general pattern.

We may thus conclude that these four Madonnas were painted by a Veronese master between 1475 and 1480.

When compiling the catalogue of the Widener Collec-

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 4, fig. 147.

² Ibid., fig. 148.

³ Ibid., fig. 150.

⁴ Ibid., fig. 178.

⁵ Ibid., fig. 184.

⁶ Ibid., 3, fig. 487.

⁷ I do not hesitate to claim as distinctly Veronese the patterns on the mantles of the Chalandon and Widener Madonnas, as any one acquainted with the paintings of the 'Maestro del Cespo di Garofani' and his kindred will readily agree. The colour and technique are unmistakably Veronese, but, for reasons given more than once, I refrain from dwelling on these decisive but unphotographable factors of the problem.

tion, some ten or twelve years ago, I was inclined to place the author of the Widener Madonna closer to Benaglio than I should at present. It now seems to me improbable that the man who in 1462 painted the S. Bernardino triptych, showing every sign of a mature and established style, should have let it go and both fallen and risen to an art at once so inferior in draughtsmanship and structure, and so superior in poetry and ornamental beauty, as our four Madonnas. On the other hand, these same Madonnas make a manifestly continuous series with the damaged Madonna in Berlin (fig. 61) signed by Domenico Morone and dated 1484, if we allow several years to have elapsed after the latest of the four, the Lovere one. Considerable deflation has taken place; both the figures have thinned down and hardened, and look sadder in consequence, and much more oppressed by thought. Nevertheless the similarity remains, although perhaps it is not easy to describe. For me it peeps out from the shell-like eyelids, from the mouths, from the Child's cap and halo, and from the decorative fruits, but most of all from a certain vibration impossible to define, which I feel in all of them.¹

But there are some even more indisputable works of Domenico's that put in a claim for kinship. It is almost startling that, although there is a difference of fully twenty years between them, the buildings in the André Madonna (fig. 57), and those in the picture representing the young Envoy received by a King (fig. 35), should remain so identical in every respect. Indeed the piazza in this Madonna, one of the earliest achievements that we can place to Morone's credit, reveals him already as that accomplished painter of *Vedute* that Dr. Sirèn and Mr. Brockwell

¹ Soon after his Berlin Madonna Morone must have painted the Crucifixion, so impressive in sentiment, so original as an arabesque, belonging to Mr. Nicholson (fig. 34).



FIG. 59. DOMENICO MORONE: MADONNA

Lovere, Tadini Gallery



FIG. 60. DOMENICO MORONE: MADONNA
Philadelphia, Widener Collection

justly declared him to be. Likewise the landscape in the *Lovere Madonna*, in spite of the lapse of fully fifteen years, shows a persistent similarity with the backgrounds in the *National Gallery Tournaments* (figs. 48 and 55). Even *Our Lady in the Libreria of S. Bernardino at Verona* (fig. 64), painted in 1503, and on the lowest calculation twenty-five years after our four *Madonnas*, retains a certain likeness to them in the strangeness of the oval, in the heavy eyelids, and in the mouth. The artist who, after longer and longer intervals, designed these various *Madonnas* might be regarded as one who adopted a style of painting fairly early in life, and pursued it to its logical end. But a disturbing element appeared during the interval between the *Lovere Madonna* and the *S. Bernardino Libreria* fresco, which all but disorbed Morone, and made of him for some years the artist whom alone we have hitherto admired, the artist who was the author of the *Gonzaga Triumph* (fig. 17) and the *National Gallery Tournaments* (figs. 48 and 55). As such disturbing influences, for good and for evil, are by no means infrequent, particularly in schools of secondary importance, such as the *Veronese* after *Pisanello*, it is the business of a methodological study like this to try to account for them. Yet we must delay embarking upon this brief but interesting voyage, until we have gathered into our net, for possible use, three other pictures which have been tossing about from one attribution to another.

We have already a formal acquaintance with one of them, the picture in the *Verona Gallery* (fig. 56) representing the *Madonna with the three baby Angels* trying to engage in play the solemn Child (49 by 35 cm.). It is close enough to the one authentic *Benaglio* (fig. 54) to justify, in a measure, those students who would attribute it to that painter. And yet the author of the signed triptych (which, for all its crudities and pretences, remains the work of

a craftsman who knew what he was after, namely plastic form as understood and rendered by Mantegna) is not likely to have ever perpetrated anything so puerile, so merely linear, mask-like, and wooden as this 'Madonna with the Fan', quaint and winsome though it be. May it not be a work earlier than any we have yet discovered by the painter of the five Madonnas that have just been claiming our attention, an effort made by the young Morone when still fresh from Benaglio's teaching, say some time before 1470?

I would next introduce a little-known picture at Altenburg (no. 156, 53 by 32 cm., fig. 63), representing the Holy Family with the Child blessing a Donor. They are seated in the *Hortus Conclusus*, with the half-open door of a temple in the back, and in front of it a structure consisting of a beam resting on two square pillars. Winged babies are busy playfully festooning this gate with heavy garlands.

Two or three generations ago this utterly delightful little masterpiece would have been assigned, because of its massive form and structure, to Masaccio, if in Central Italy, or, if in North Italy, to Mantegna. Dr. Schmarsow, who, so far as I am aware, is the only student beside myself who has hitherto given a thought to this panel, claims it for Ansuino da Forlì. To me it has for many years seemed to be by Domenico Morone, and I confess I am still of that opinion. That it is Veronese there can be no reasonable doubt; and among the Veronese I know of no other painter so likely to be its author. The little Angels are exactly the same as those in the 'Madonna with the Fan' (fig. 56), only they, as everything else here, have recaptured genuine plasticity, and suggest not masks and lines, but form and substance. I would therefore place it in the interval between the Lovere and the Berlin Madonnas, towards 1480, let us say. If that should seem too late



FIG. 61. DOMENICO MORONE: MADONNA

Berlin Gallery



FIG. 62. BERNARDINO ZENALE: SS. LUCY, CATHERINE, AND MARY MAGDALEN
Detail of Polyptych at Treviglio

a date for a thing so archaic in design, we should remind ourselves of what was being done at that time in Milan, or recall Cristofano da Lendinara's Madonna of 1482 at Modena.¹

The third picture to be considered is a Purification of the Virgin in the Musée André at Chaalis (no. 500, 60 by 47½ cm., fig. 65). There is something Venetic in the frank way that a Gospel subject is turned into a scene of everyday life of the upper classes. Our Lady is being received on the steps of a church by the High Priest and two youthful acolytes. Joachim and Anne are God-fearing old people of the period. The servant who brings the doves is wearing the male costume and coiffure that were habitual from 1485 to about 1500, while the kneeling Virgin, both in dress and in the way of arranging her hair, conforms to the fashions prevalent in these same years.

The architecture is not merely Venetic and Renaissance of those decades; it is specially Veronese, as is shown by the arrangement of the buildings, by the apse so near to the door, and by the scalloped battlements, rare even in the north of Italy except at Verona and the neighbouring towns of Mantua and Cremona.²

Coming to the figures, we find that the head of the old man there and the one in the Altenburg Holy Family are all but identical in drawing and modelling, if not in feature and cut of beard. The remaining figures allow us to go farther and to say that in our present state of knowledge there is no artist so likely to have done them as Domenico Morone. Twelve or more years must have elapsed between the painting of this picture and the execution of the frescoes in the Libreria of S. Bernardino, and the figures and faces and draperies are just what the author of the earlier work

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 3, fig. 391.

² Street, *Brick and Marble in North Italy*, pp. 106 and 270.

might be expected to have done so many years later (figs. 68 and 71). Moreover, the baby Angels sitting on the volute over the door will not fail to remind us of those in the Altenburg panel (fig. 63), or of the much earlier ones in the 'Madonna with the Fan' (fig. 56); nor should we fail to note the resemblance of the Virgin's ear to that of the Child in the André Madonna (fig. 57).

If from this last work and the works leading up to it, beginning with the André Madonna, or perhaps even with the earlier 'Madonna with the Fan' (fig. 56), we could proceed at once to such typical achievements of his later years as the S. Biagio *predella* at Vicenza (fig. 66), the S. Bernardino Libreria frescoes (fig. 68), and the Stuttgart Madonna with the two St. Catherines, Domenico Morone's career would then be as straight and one-tracked as the late President Wilson's mind. But between these two series of efforts there intervene, as we said a little while ago, paintings like the Expulsion of the Bonacolsi by the Gonzagas (fig. 17), signed and dated 1494, and the Tournaments of the National Gallery (figs. 48 and 55), works which, besides being unexpected in the author of the Berlin Madonna dated 1484, in no way lead us to foresee the frescoes from Paladon in the Verona Gallery and those in the Libreria at S. Bernardino, which were done eight or nine years later. The few paintings grouped around the Mantua canvas have a grace, a nimbleness, a vivacity, that are neither anticipated in the earlier probable achievements of Morone, nor followed by his indisputable later ones. Without this group, moreover, interest in him would scarcely have been roused at any time. And yet it marks an episode so slightly related to his career that but for the signature we should hesitate to identify it with the same artistic personality—an episode that is indeed difficult to account for.



FIG. 63. DOMENICO MORONE: HOLY FAMILY

Altenburg Museum



FIG. 64. DOMENICO MORONE: DETAIL OF FRESCO—MADONNA AND ANGELS
Verona, Library of S. Bernardino

In certain attitudes and movements of men and women and quadrupeds we can descry signs of contact with Ercole Roberti, but not of the sort to account for all this difference. I have often asked myself during the last thirty years whether that disturbing, disorbiting factor, which for a few years succeeded in turning Morone into the most elegant and dainty master of movement in the whole of Northern Italy, was not Gentile Bellini.

Gentile is one of the many victims of time. It has devoured nearly all the offspring of his genius, so that it has become hard to frame an idea of his quality, let alone to construct a history of his career. The few works of his maturity that remain probably give but a one-sided notion of his talent, for they are ceremonial pictures that afford small scope for what is not stately and processional. And yet if you look at the minor figures in the great Corpus Christi picture, or, better still, at those in the Miracle of the True Cross (both now in the Venice Academy), you will discover in them closer resemblances to those in Morone than anywhere else at all. It is true that Morone's are of slightly earlier date; but Gentile no doubt designed quantities of similar figures in the previous decade. 'But what about the horses?' it will be asked. 'Where in Bellini do you find them?'

We find them in one of the most solemnly beautiful, most impressively poetical, most accomplished works of art ever created, the Adoration of the Magi, formerly in the Layard Collection, now in the National Gallery (fig. 67). It is a picture which has occupied my attention for half a lifetime. It is not easy to place, nor do I know whether its attribution to Gentile Bellini is traditional, or due to Cavalcaselle and Morelli. I have been of many minds about it. In those old days when we were all inclined to expect great things from the less known and provincial

painters, and would credit a Cariani with some of the finest Palmas, a Pordenone or even a Licinio with such first-rate Giorgionesque heads as the Budapest Brocardo and the Borghese Lady with a Handkerchief, and would assign to Sebastiano del Piombo the Glasgow Adulteress and the supreme *Fête Champêtre* of the *Salon Carré*, to Beltraffio the *Belle Ferronnière*, to Sebastiano again the Czartoryski Raphael, to Carotto the Elizabetta Gonzaga of the Pitti, &c., &c.—in those days of juvenile expectation, when we supposed that genius was as common as blackberries at Vallombrosa, I was often inclined to wonder whether this Epiphany might not have been painted by Domenico Morone, so many are its affiliations with his few pictures grouped around the Battle scene of 1494, and so many are the reminiscences of it in other Veronese works at the turn of the century, particularly in those of Domenico's son, Francesco, as well as in the works of Bartolommeo Montagna, a painter who was greater than any of them and had many contacts with Verona.

But great masterpieces like this Epiphany are produced by great masters only; and of such, at any given moment, there are not many. When Cézanne towards the end of his days said to a critic, 'You know perfectly well that I am the only painter now in Europe', he was somewhat tainted with senile conceit—for Degas and Renoir were still alive; but after all he was not so very far wrong in his calculations. Take away the three Bellinis and Carpaccio, take away Giorgione, Titian, and Tintoret, and what remains of Venetian *Quattrocento* and *Cinquecento* painting? As for the rest of Northern Italy, who are its great masters during these two centuries if you leave out of account Mantegna, Paul Veronese, and Correggio?

Accordingly I bless my common sense which never allowed me to whisper that I thought the Layard Epiphany



FIG. 65. DOMENICO MORONE: PURIFICATION OF VIRGIN

Chailis, Musée André



FIG. 66. DOMENICO MORONE: THREE SCENES FROM LEGEND OF ST. BLAISE
Vicenza Gallery

might be by Domenico Morone. Although Gentile Bellini's career is like a stream that we must cross by jumping from stepping-stone to stepping-stone, it is nevertheless saner to find a place for this masterpiece among his works than among those of any other artist. The unique intimacy with Oriental costume, the head of the oldest Magus, which recalls the signed portrait of Doge Barbarigo at Nuneham,¹ the hands of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Joseph, the folds of the draperies, the precise, economical, and crisp draughtsmanship, all point to Gentile, and compel us to accept as his the unexpected elements, notably the landscape and the rather silvery, brownish colouring—due, perhaps, to God knows what disintegrations and repairs. For reasons we have not the space to discuss, the picture must have been designed about 1485.

It has, of course, occurred to me that Gentile's brother, Giovanni, might possibly have created this great work about the time that he was busy over the Naples Transfiguration and the Frick St. Francis. I yield to none in admiration of Giambellino's range as well as quality. He was versatile beyond any of his contemporaries, and I now credit him not only with such Antonellesque heads as the Salting Youth and the Schickler Young Man, as well as with most of the other portraits I used to attribute to Alvise Vivarini, but with an important work which has been the subject of much discussion, the Madonna with Doge Giovanni Mocenigo, of the National Gallery. I would even assign to him the Quirini-Stampalia version of Mantegna's Berlin Circumcision. Nevertheless, my idea of his artistic personality rejects the Layard Epiphany.

But the important thing to us here and now is not to attach a name to this masterpiece, but to realize the probability that it was known to most of the artists of Verona,

¹ Pl. XLVII, *Early Venetian Pictures*, Burlington Fine Arts, 1912.

and to Domenico Morone and his followers in particular. Otherwise it would be hard to account for the frequent reminiscences of it in their paintings. Whoever the author of the great Epiphany was, he may actually have sojourned for a while at Verona and exerted a considerable influence there. This would account for the not infrequent confusion that used to take place between the achievements of Veronese painters and those of Gentile's closest, ablest, and best-known follower, Carpaccio.

Under Gentile's stimulus—assuming that this Bellini was the author of the Epiphany—Domenico Morone must have been lifted out of and beyond himself for a while. He fell back, either because the stimulus was withdrawn, or because his own energies could keep up the race no longer. The effort was too much for him, and, to regain his balance, he turned back to his Paduan origins—as we find him doing in the Vicenza *predella* (fig. 66), the Paladon frescoes, and those in the Libreria of S. Bernardino (fig. 68). In this reversion to his beginnings he displays—as is normal in such cases—increased conviction and zeal. Never was he more crudely Mantegnesque than at this moment, and he is saved from abject imitation only by obstinate provinciality.

If such a struggle, such success, and such failure should seem improbable, let the sceptic bear in mind the fully established case of Sebastiano del Piombo. Even if the drawings which, following Wickhoff's lead, I transferred to him from Michelangelo should nevertheless turn out to be the latter's (which, for some of them, is improbable), there still remain the Viterbo *Pietà*, one or two Madonnas, and one or two portraits which witness to an almost incredible heightening of capacity under painstaking submission to the precepts and example of genius. Yet this period of enhancement was succeeded by relapse and almost by extinction.



FIG. 67. GENTILE BELLINI: ADORATION OF MAGI
London, National Gallery, Leyard Bequest



FIG. 68. DOMENICO MORONE: FRESCO—MADONNA, SAINTS, AND DONORS
Verona, Library of S. Bernardino

If this attempt to account for the phase of Domenico's career represented by the Battle scene and the Tournaments be allowed, as on the available evidence it must be, then we have no great difficulty in understanding where he got his horses. We shall easily recognize all, or nearly all, the models for them in the glorious bronze quadrupeds of St. Mark's in Gentile's Epiphany, displayed in various attitudes and movements, and of an excellence unexpected in a horseless Venetian. I would go farther and add that even in the unwonted litheness and elegance of the figures, and more still in the spacious sense of the out-of-doors, and the placing of the buildings in the midst of that out-of-doors, I feel the inspiration of the Bellinis, especially of Gentile.

VI

And now, what of our one-and-twenty panels, the subject of, or at least the occasion for, this interminable essay? Can we insert them into the artistic personality that we have just attempted to put together, without disrupting it? I think we can. We have seen that Domenico Morone took more than one unexpected turn between the dates of the signed works like the Berlin Madonna of 1484, the Mantua Battle scene of 1494, and the Verona frescoes of 1502 and 1503. Now it is very likely that the influence which was to prevail so triumphantly in the Battle picture and the Tournaments was already exerting itself upon Domenico several years earlier, at the precise date, in fact, which, for independent reasons, we decided to give to the twenty-one panels. We need not then be surprised to find him in these panels already showing signs of contact, timid as yet, with Gentile Bellini. There is therefore no obstacle, whether of time or place or character, to the amalgamation into one artistic personality of these panels and the other

works which we have assigned to Domenico. It becomes a question of evidence, and at this stage of our research the evidence will consist of points of resemblance, which easily escaping the artist's conscious attention, are therefore, as Morelli saw, the final test for the identity of the designing, if not of the executing hand. These points of resemblance need not be many, provided they are intimately significant.

At last we can afford to be brief and draw our investigation to a rapid close. It is the designing and casting of the gun, the getting it into position, the manufacture and conveyance of the projectile, that have taken time and trouble. The mere firing off of heavy artillery is the affair of an instant.

Where the figures are so small as in our panels, there is scarcely a chance for the display of characteristic ears. The hands and the folds afford better opportunities. It would be difficult to find many parallels, before Lotto's altar-piece of 1521 at Bergamo, to the mute eloquence of the two foremost women's hands in the Birth of Thomas (fig. 1). At that time, thirty or forty years earlier than Lotto's Bergamo masterpiece, such gestures, in Northern Italy at least, were rare. Yet the right hand of Morone's Berlin Madonna is not only as expressive as Lotto's, but expressive in the same way (fig. 61). The fellow student may well find such a statement, if taken by itself, too vague to be convincing; but I would recommend him to examine through a magnifying glass the extended hand of the seated woman, until he has grasped its character, the relation of the metacarpus to the wrist and the fingers, and the arabesque with which it is all rendered; he will then see that it is the same in the most subtly peculiar way as the left hand of the André Madonna (fig. 57). Such a resemblance in a case like this, where none of the other factors oppose it, is really as good as a signature.



FIG. 69. DOMENICO MORONE: MADONNA AND DEAD CHRIST

Formerly in Nosedà Collection, Milan

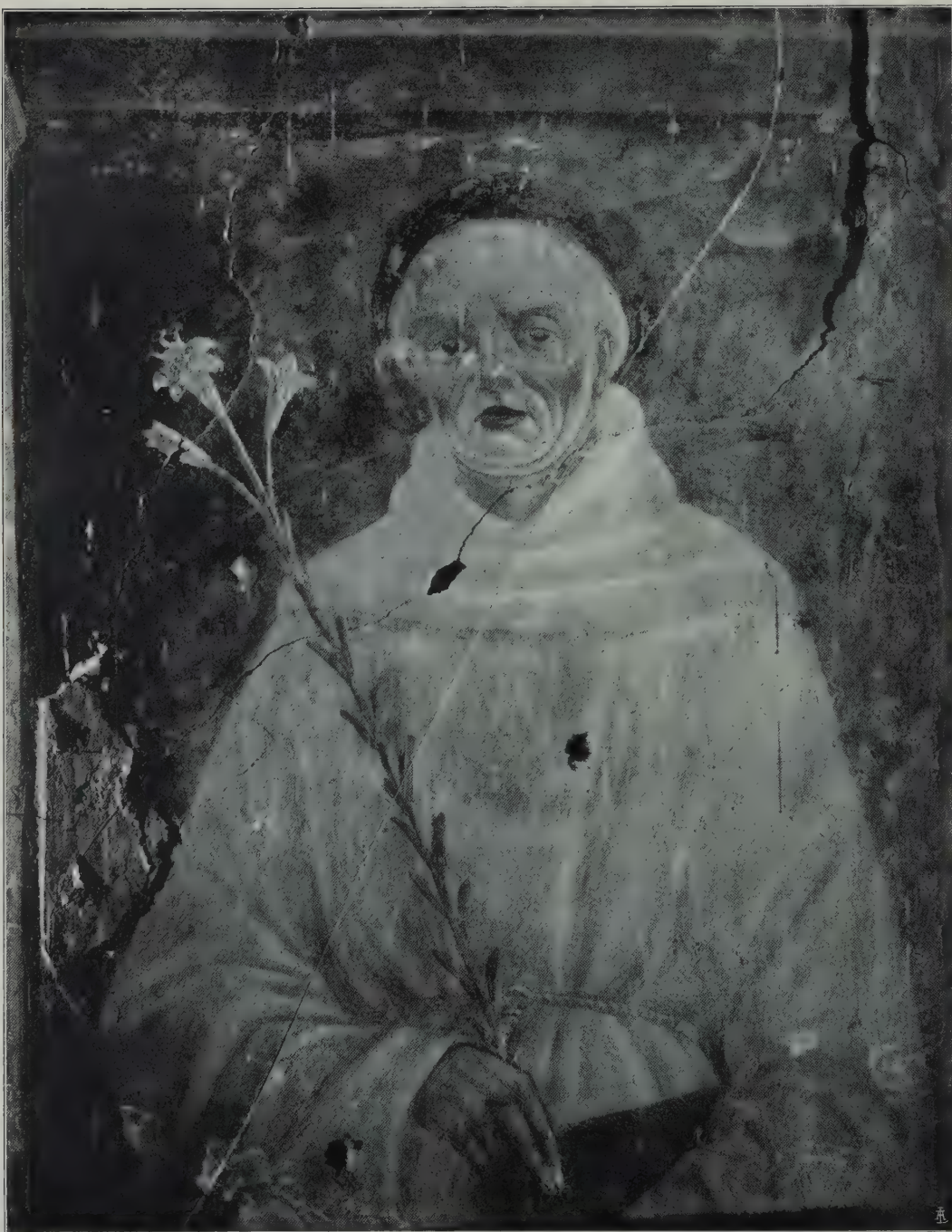


FIG. 70. DOMENICO MORONE: ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA
Detail of Paladon Frescoes now in Verona Museum

To come now to the folds in the draperies. The curious indentations that are so conspicuous in the dresses of the two gesticulating women mentioned in the last paragraph are found line for line in the tunic of the Berlin Madonna, as well as in the coverlet of the Chalandon picture (fig. 58). The tosses and turns taken by the spreading skirts, as in the seated woman in the Birth of Thomas (fig. 1), in the fainting woman of the Este panel (fig. 49), or, better still, in the woman kneeling before a prelate (fig. 45), make an arabesque that, in spite of the twelve or more intervening years, closely resembles in pattern the skirts of the personages in the S. Bernardino Libreria fresco (fig. 71), or in the even later Nosedà picture (fig. 69).¹ And if we go on to look at the folds in the paintings of Francesco Morone, Michele da Verona, and Cavazzola, who continue Domenico's manner and mannerisms so faithfully, we shall find many more parallels, thanks to the larger number of their surviving works.²

But the predominant characteristic of Domenico's folds throughout his entire career, interrupted only by the moment of the Battle of 1494 and its companions, was a tendency to deep, long furrows, like those in late Greco-Roman reliefs, close and rather crisp at first, as in the Chalandon Madonna (fig. 58), then more spaced and with less brittle edges, as we find them in many perpendicular folds in our twenty-one panels, and finally smoothed and rounded, as in the frescoes of 1502 and 1503, particularly in those of S. Bernardino (fig. 68). I find it hard to doubt that they are all by the same hand. Who but the designer of those in the just-mentioned frescoes could have drawn those of the prelate in the Este panel (fig. 45)?

¹ Note, by the way, the extraordinary likeness of the *Ecce Homo* in this work to the one under the arch of the door in fig. 49.

² Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 4, figs. 501-7, 530.

The attribution of our panels to Domenico Morone is clearly confirmed by an examination of the folds.

Finally, the bumpy, bossy faces are conspicuous in all the panels of our series, and are due, I take it, to the ambition of the painter to model in planes. He could not master this difficult task without frequently falling into exaggerated accentuation, as is only too manifest in the picture of St. Thomas at the foot of the Altar (fig. 4), the Last Lecture of the same Doctor (fig. 3), and the Miracle of St. Dominic (fig. 5). As he could not manage in a plastic way the transitions from plane to plane, he tended either to make crude contrasts of light and shade, or to render his planes by red outlines alone. In combination these faults result in faces that are over-bossy or over-smooth. In the phase to which the Expulsion of the Bonacolsi and the Tournaments belong, Domenico is, if anything, over-smooth; and it is this phase, by the way, which is continued and developed by his son, Francesco, while he himself, in his senile return to his origins and collapse of ambition, ends by frankly confining himself to the profiles, to the outlines only, of his planes. To illustrate my meaning I reproduce a detail of the S. Bernardino fresco (fig. 71), and the head of St. Anthony from Paladon (fig. 70), inviting special comparison of the last with the head we reproduced (fig. 38) from the Miracle of St. Dominic.

I have tried in this study to confine myself to evidence which in my judgement seemed significant, convincing, and communicable to the reader. I have abstained from drawing upon the frescoes in the Chapel of St. Anthony in S. Bernardino at Verona, because, although there are numerous bits there which would confirm my attribution, they are hard to photograph and not essential to my purpose. I have avoided a discussion of the question whether



FIG. 71. DOMENICO MORONE: ST. CLAIRE AND FEMALE DONOR
Verona, Detail of Fresco in Library of S. Bernardino

Domenico Moroncini and Domenico Morone are one and the same person, because the one work signed with the former name is too far gone to permit a decision. I trust I have not failed to take into account, *in petto* at least, all the data that might work against the ascription of our one and twenty panels to Domenico Morone. Given what we know at present of Veronese art, no other painter is at all so likely as he to be their author. The competent and patient student will concede so much.

But a problem such as this essay has attempted to deal with cannot be treated dialectically and forensically alone. It has to be experienced and lived, it has to be tasted and felt. Just that vital substratum cannot be communicated. The most authentic evidence, nevertheless, is there, but beyond the realm of discourse.

SETTIGNANO, *Febr.—Aug.*, 1924.

A NEGLECTED ALTAR-PIECE
BY BOTTICELLI



FIG. 72. BOTTICELLI: MADONNA AND SAINTS

Florence Academy

A NEGLECTED ALTAR-PIECE

BY BOTTICELLI

IN the Accademia at Florence there is an altar-piece that has not been admitted into the Morellian canon of Botticelli's autograph works. Pre-Morellians have not paid much attention to it, and their successors, if indeed there be any who have escaped the contamination of the Morellian method, have ignored it. Only Dr. Bode, in his recent book on Botticelli, stands up for it. What he says is true, but it does not go very far. The Florentine authorities in their recent reshuffling of the Galleries have transported its former companions, the Coronation and the altar-piece with the Baptist, Michael, and other Saints, to the Uffizi, there to join Botticelli's more famous masterpieces, thus confessing that they are not inclined to defend the attribution still affixed to this picture, left out in the cold as it now is.

And yet it is not a less attractive work than the more favoured Coronation, so heavy and so unenjoyable, except for the dancing Angels; nor, as I look at it now, does it seem less of an autograph. Why, then, did I slam the door against it thirty years ago? I remember that I did not do so with an easy mind, but felt perplexed and troubled.

The altar-piece to which I refer (fig. 72) is the one from S. Ambrogio, in which we see Our Lady seated in a vaulted room panelled with marble and stone, the Saints Cosmas and Damian kneeling at her feet, while Catherine and the Magdalen stand to r. and l. in the foreground, and Francis and the Baptist stand against the wall.

I was never blind to its qualities. I appreciated the

grand simplicity of the composition—a pyramid between columns—the monumental importance of the figures, the sculptural modelling, the functional line, the robust colouring. It was Botticellian surely : then why not his? There were good reasons, no doubt, but I now suspect that only one was dominant, the fact that neither the Virgin's nor the Child's face was true to type. This encouraged scepticism as to the other heads;—were they necessarily the young Sandro's, and could no other follower of Verrocchio have done them under Castagno's influence?

It may be asked, 'How could you help seeing that the faces of the central figures (fig. 73) were completely repainted, and how did you fail to take that into account?'

I did not then know as much as I know now about repaint; and even at this time, after thirty years, I still have a great deal to learn on that ticklish subject. Of course I knew enough even then to understand that this picture, like most others of that time, had suffered at the hands of the restorer. Only I was unable to judge to what extent it had suffered. I supposed that the restorer had disfigured the Virgin's face as he had that of St. Cosmas, but I did not perceive that he went beyond disfigurement to misrepresentation, and that the heads of Mother and Child, as they now are, could not have been designed by the artist who had, under the influence of Verrocchio and Castagno, conceived the others, or indeed by any one else at the same moment.

And yet it is clear enough. When I say clear, I mean that the reasons are of a quantitative nature, and are therefore outside the vague region of opinion, and so require of the student no exquisite, subtle, and mysterious sensibility or second sight, but only the indispensable minimum of training in archaeological method.

It is this which we so-called connoisseurs and art-critics



FIG. 73. BOTTICELLI: MADONNA
Detail of picture in Florence Academy



FIG. 74. OTTICELLI: HEAD OF VIRGIN
Detail of picture in Florence Academy

lack so lamentably now, just as we lacked it thirty years ago; and as I am myself coming more and more to realize its importance in my studies, I gladly take this occasion to bring out an aspect of the problem in so far as it regards this picture, on which archaeology has a great deal of light to throw.

Now the archaeologist who has made a study of costume in the *Quattrocento* cannot fail to perceive that the coiffure of the Madonna is not purely Florentine, but rather Umbrian. He will further recognize that in so far as the coiffure is Florentine it belongs to the end of the century, whereas the rest of the picture is manifestly two full decades earlier.

As it is possible that my colleagues are not better acquainted with the facts than I was till recently, I venture to ask them to follow the course of my investigation.

The Madonna's hair (fig. 74) is parted in the middle. Strands of it ripple down along her cheeks, but over each ear it is combed into massive coils. There it is held in place by the kerchief, which, after curving around it and puffing out into a curved fold towards the back of the head, spans the crown like an arch, and rests upon an identical arrangement on the other side.

This coiffure in the shape of a cinquefoil is so rare in Florence that I have come across no instances of it except in the small group of minor painters, like the Raffaellinos, who fell under Perugian influence. The nearest approach to the pattern in our altar-piece occurs in no. 22 at Dresden, a Madonna with the two Holy Children embracing, which is by Raffaellino del Garbo (fig. 75). The only other instance is the head of the foremost dame in a lunette at Pisa, probably by Raffaellino de' Caroli,¹ representing 'Our

¹ Photo, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, E. 1666. Reproduced in *Dedalo*, June, 1924, p. 22.

Lord and Our Lady interceding for groups of Penitents'. Among the more important artists, the only one who paints a coiffure even vaguely resembling this one is Filippino Lippi, himself a friend of Pietro Perugino, and not as impervious to Umbrian influences as were the rest of his townsmen. But even in Filippino it amounts only to a puffed-out arrangement over the ears, such as we find in the Warren (fig. 76) and Simon (fig. 77) *Tondi*, in the Minerva Annunciation, in the Copenhagen 'Meeting of Joachim and Anne' (fig. 78), in the Strozzi Chapel frescoes (fig. 79), &c., &c., though of these none, be it noted, are earlier than 1490, none quite so early perhaps.

In Perugia, on the other hand, or, to be exact, in Pietro Vanucci's work, parallels to this coiffure abound; for it is curious that it never occurs in an autograph painting by Fiorenzo or B. Caporali, and in Pintoricchio only once, and that in the National Gallery 'Return of Ulysses', a late work. One is tempted to suggest that its occurrence is a test of close adherence to Perugino. In his paintings it makes a tentative appearance as early, even, as in the Sixtine frescoes, ascribed by Morelli to Pintoricchio, but which I am obliged to believe are by Perugino. Elaborated in the way that appears in the altar-piece we are studying, it occurs in almost every work of Perugino's designed between 1490 and 1500 and later. The student need only look through Venturi's *Storia*, vol. vii. 2, or Bombe's volume on Perugino in the *Klassiker der Kunst*, or Fischel's *Zeichnungen der Umbrer*, to find many instances. I will cite only a few of the most interesting cases: the glorious *Tondo* of the Louvre (fig. 81); the drawing there (Fischel, fig. 10); the Madonna with two female Saints at Vienna (fig. 82); the Nativity in the Pitti Palace (Bombe, 81-2); the altar-piece at Chantilly (Bombe, 203); and finally, the closest parallel of all, the heads of the Erythraean and Cumaean



FIG. 75. RAFFAELLINO DEL GARBO: MADONNA WITH INFANT JOHN

Dresden Gallery



FIG. 76. FILIPPINO LIPPI: HOLY FAMILY AND ST. CATHERINE
Lewes, Warren Collection

Sibyls in the Cambio at Perugia (figs. 83, 84). Pietro's closest follower, Antonio da Viterbo, almost never fails to coif his women in this way. Take the *Musica* in the Borgia Apartments, for instance,¹ the Madonna in Berlin,² or the Madonna with SS. Jerome and Francis in the Friedsam Collection in New York, which I reproduce (fig. 80). Observe that the nearer we come to 1500, the approximate date of the last-mentioned heads, the nearer do we approach to identity with the coiffure in our altar-piece.

And, in truth, looking at the oval, the proportions, the expression of the face, what student of *Quattrocento* painting would think of dating it as early as the eighth decade of that century, the period to which the rest of the picture so obviously belongs? He would be far more likely at once to declare it out of his period; and, in fact, it suggests certain Umbro-Florentine Raphaelesque types of 1515 and later, rather than the severely Verocchio-Castagnesque visages of the rest of the picture (figs. 85, 86).

The conclusion can now be drawn—that the Madonna's head does not belong to the original design of this altar-piece. Some twenty or more likely thirty years after it was painted, this panel suffered serious damage. The restoration was entrusted to some close follower of Perugino, and as the Blessed Virgin's head must have been regarded as too much destroyed for mere touching up, he, in accordance with the almost invariable practice of that time, painted in the kind of head he would have done in a work of his own creation.

He touched up most of the other heads, but with that we are not concerned just at present. My purpose has been to establish that the Madonna's head in the Accademia altar-piece, which prevented many of us from ascribing the work to Botticelli, formed no part of the original design,

¹ Venturi, vii. 2, p. 623.

² Ibid., p. 715.

and can therefore be abstracted and ignored. Its unfortunate presence need not, as hitherto, prejudice the question whether the rest of the picture is by Botticelli.

At this point some one may ask why the painter of the rest of the altar-piece might not have left it unfinished, knocking off work before he got to the Madonna's head, as happened with Sandro's last Epiphany, now in the Uffizi, where it is clear that the artist had not even begun the Madonna. That example, however, is from the later years of Botticelli's career, when Messianic politics were already absorbing him unduly. Besides it is the kind of composition that he might have undertaken, as might a painter of to-day, to please his fancy, or as a speculation. In that case, once interrupted, there was no one to urge its completion. But with an altar-piece the case is different. Except as an order, an artist would scarcely have undertaken it, and the employer would see to it that it got finished.

The question is by no means an idle one. If the artist who painted this altar-piece was Botticelli, there is a chance that, before it left his studio, the Madonna was copied and used by his assistants; for no important work left the studio of a great Master without its merely attractive portions falling a prey to popularizers, who copied, arranged, recombined, and exploited the original while its vogue lasted.

In this particular altar-piece it is not likely to have been anything but the Madonna herself that would have invited repetition; and if we conclude that Sandro did originally paint this figure, we may well expect to find other versions of it.

In this expectation we are not disappointed. The moment it occurred to me that the present head in our altar-piece did not represent the original, memory flashed on my mind the image of a picture which must have been copied from that original.



FIG. 77. FILIPPINO LIPPI: MADONNA AND ANGELS

Berlin Gallery



FIG. 78. FILIPPINO LIPPI: MEETING OF JOACHIM AND ANNE
Copenhagen Museum

That picture is a Madonna in the collection of Mr. Loyd at Lockinge, Wantage, Berks. (fig. 87). The reproduction allows us to dispense with a detailed account. There are slight differences, of course, for exact copying was seldom practised in those unmechanized times. But in all except minutest details the Virgin and Child, leaving out the heads, are identical in both pictures; and as the heads in the smaller picture are in every respect Botticellian, and early Botticellian, we may legitimately conclude that they represent faithfully the heads that the copyist saw in the altar-piece. He softened and sweetened a bit, of course, and gave the eyes of Our Lady the gentleness and loveliness which to this day make imitations of Botticelli more popular than his own somewhat austere autographs.

The Lockinge version is not the only one. Baron Michele Lazzaroni of Paris has another, which also I reproduce (fig. 88). We cannot stop to study it for its own sake, any more than the Lockinge painting. It suffices to say that in essentials it agrees so well with the latter as to confirm its fidelity to a common original. And two bronze plaques, one in the Bargello, and another in Berlin,¹ to which Mr. Yashiro has drawn my attention, bring further proof that the Madonna in our altar-piece must have closely resembled the one at Lockinge.

Yet another Madonna, one which passed through the hands of M. Decok, a Paris restorer, in April 1917, throws light on our problem (fig. 89). As we see, the Child and the action have no relation to our altar-piece; but the Virgin's head was evidently taken from a painting of much the same mood and the same moment in Botticelli's career, so that it probably represents our original better than the too tender one at Lockinge and the too sentimental one of

¹ N. 65, catal. as style of Benedetto da Maiano, repr. on pl. xlv of *Die italienischen Bronzen*.

Baron Lazzaroni. This face shows nearly all that a copy can be expected to give of a character more in harmony with the grave and monumental Catherine and Magdalen in our altar-piece. At the same time it is anything but a stranger.

Where have we known it so well? Where, indeed, but in the *Primavera*? It is in fact nearer to the Venus (fig. 90) in that symphonic design than to the Madonnas we have been discussing. The original must have been conceived in the interval between the painting of our more pedestrian altar-piece and the manifestation of that sublime vision.

It is time to see what are the net gains of our investigation thus far. In the first place, the study of the coiffure has yielded the conclusion that the head of the Virgin could not have been designed by the artist who did the rest of the altar-piece. Then, a comparison with the Lockinge panel has proved that our altar-piece was not left unfinished, and that the original head was well represented by the Lockinge and the Lazzaroni pictures, by the Berlin bronze plaque, and, better still, by the Madonna which was at a Paris restorer's in 1917, and which we found to be near to the Venus in the *Primavera*.

Now as nothing could well be more Botticellian than these heads, they can oppose no obstacle to our acceptance of the Florence Accademia altar-piece as the creation of Sandro's mind, the product at least of his studio, and perhaps the work of his own hand.

Nor does anything else in this altar-piece conflict with such a conclusion, except what is due to the same restorer who altered the face of Our Lady. The repainting of the Baptist's face is unfortunate, and that of the St. Cosmas lamentable, but they remain unmistakably Botticellian.



FIG. 79. FILIPPINO LIPPI: DETAILS FROM FRESCOES OF THE STROZZI CHAPEL

Florence, S. Maria Novella



FIG. 80. ANTONIO DA VITERBO: MADONNA AND SAINTS
New York, Friedsam Collection

The Child's head, on the contrary, has a *Cinquecento* character as far removed from the Child in the Lockinge picture, as is His Mother's face in that panel from the one in our altar-piece.

We have only to replace in imagination the central figures of the Florence altar-piece with a composite derived from the Lockinge, the Lazzaroni, and the Decok Madonnas, in order to get a perfectly Botticellian design of his Verrocchiesque period. There is the less need for me to labour this affirmation, as Dr. Bode in his *Botticelli* (pp. 46-8) has stated the case more than adequately in so far as the period and authorship of the picture in general are concerned.

We began with statements of such an obvious nature that no one who has been trained in archaeological method could fail to agree. Inferences and reasoning followed, which again are perhaps beyond the reach of mere opinion; and we may hope that all this has established the fact that this hitherto neglected altar-piece, in spite of repaint and actual remaking, is a Botticellian work of the eighth decade of the fifteenth century. But neither archaeology nor any dialectical process is competent to decide whether it is an autograph by the creator of the design or only a studio version.

At this point connoisseurship must come to our aid. By 'connoisseurship' I mean that sense of being in the presence of a given artistic personality which comes from a long intimacy. But as man is always subject to illusion, this sense must be able to withstand all the efforts that can be made to dispel it. If it can be disproved by no facts and no process of reasoning, then we may be free to indulge it.

And it is here that Morellianism might be expected to come to our aid, for it is only a more refined and subtler

archaeology than we have yet made use of. It is, however, so delicate an instrument, requiring from him who uses it such natural skill, and such elaborate training, that, more often than not, it bends and twists in the hand that wields it, and in some mysterious way blinds and stupefies the practitioner. This altar-piece happens to be a work where hands, ears, draperies, &c., cannot be interrogated without great circumspection. Even then, the answers are dubious. We are finally thrown back on our sense of Botticelli; and I, appealing to that Socratic *Daimon* within me, do not hesitate to declare it an autograph work by the great Master.

By the great Master—and therefore a great work? If I were to look at it long enough, I could hypnotize myself into thinking that it was. There is so much to be said in explanation, in palliation, in praise. All the same, it must remain a respectable, a laudable, but not an inspired work. It is a grand academic achievement (for which reason among others we Morellians, who were nothing if not romantic, could not admit it to the canon), smacking of the qualities of a Ghirlandajo, an Andrea del Sarto, a Caracci—for fear of controversy I avoid parallels nearer our own times.

SETTIGNANO, *March*, 1924.

PS.—I have had the idea of imitating the archaeologists (as, for instance, in their restoration of the archaic for the sentimental head in the famous Naples group of Harmodius and Aristogeiton) and of replacing the head of the Madonna in the S. Ambrogio altar-piece by the one from Lockinge (fig. 91). The result seems no less satisfactory.



FIG. 81. PERUGINO: MADONNA, SAINTS, AND ANGELS

Paris, Louvre



FIG. 82. PERUGINO: MADONNA AND TWO SAINTS

Vienna Gallery



FIG. 83. PÉRUGINO: A SIBYL
Perugia, Sala del Cambio



FIG. 84. PERUGINO: A SIBYL
Perugia, Sala del Cambio



FIG. 85. BOTTICELLI: HEAD OF THE MAGDALEN

Detail of picture in Florence Academy



FIG. 86. BOTTICELLI: HEAD OF ST. CATHERINE

Detail of picture in Florence Academy



FIG. 87. WORKSHOP OF BOTTICELLI: MADONNA

Lockinge (Berks), Loyd Collection



FIG. 88. WORKSHOP OF BOTTICELLI: MADONNA
Paris, Collection of Baron Michele Lazzaroni



FIG. 89. WORKSHOP OF BOTTICELLI: MADONNA

Formerly at M. Decok's, Paris



FIG. 90. BOTTICELLI: DETAIL FROM 'PRIMAVERA'

Florence, Uffizi



FIG. 91. BOTTICELLI: RECONSTRUCTION OF FLORENCE ACADEMY PICTURE WITH
HEADS OF VIRGIN AND CHILD FROM LOCKINGE PICTURE

A POSSIBLE AND AN IMPOSSIBLE
‘ANTONELLO DA MESSINA’



FIG. 92. ANTONELLO DA MESSINA: ST. SEBASTIAN

Museo Civico, Verona

A POSSIBLE AND AN IMPOSSIBLE 'ANTONELLO DA MESSINA'

NO test can be too severe for a new work that we think of including in the canon of an artist at once so rare and so great as Antonello da Messina. Yet, if not we must, let us at least nod over something that will not radically change our idea of the Master. If, on the other hand, the proposed picture is so unlike the accepted ones as, by its inclusion, to change the character of the group, we must not admit it until all doubts have been put to rest.

In the following pages two new candidates for enrolment in the short list of Antonello's authentic works will be scrutinized. The first is a St. Sebastian for which I myself am sponsor. If I am mistaken, it does not matter much one way or the other. If I am right, we shall be able to add to the paintings accredited to Antonello a work which has the unique interest of being a fresco by him. The second is a panel of fair dimensions representing the Madonna with the Holy Child and the Infant John. If Antonello designed, let alone painted it, we must revise our view of him, for it would show him as quite another figure from the one we have hitherto known.

I

The St. Sebastian is in the Museo Civico at Verona. It bears the number 1225 and is catalogued as being of the School of Girolamo dai Libri. It measures 1.65 by

1.20 m. There is no record of its origin. It is in shreds, more, I believe, owing to the brutal way it was taken down than to exposure, although it is likely that it was out of doors. We must keep in mind the fact that it is half destroyed when we come to grips with the question of its authorship. It has apparently escaped attention up to the present, perhaps because it is exhibited where one would not expect to find paintings of any interest, across the courtyard in a passage leading to the rather indifferent Antiques. I, for one, certainly never looked at it until the other day. But the instant my attention was drawn to it, I asked myself, 'Why not Antonello?'

Why not, indeed? But first let us look well at this fresco (fig. 92).

As through a window framed by two columns, we see in the foreground, standing against a third column, the youthful nude with arms tied behind him. Two giant arrows stick into breast and belly, but he looks out serene and impassive. In the middle distance, on our right, two archers with backs turned to us are moving away, and smaller figures are barely descried on the left.

The instant I looked at this fresco with a seeing eye, I mean with all faculties co-operating, I felt that it must be by Antonello. Such a spontaneous recognition is not yet knowledge. It must first withstand every challenge. Has it got the mood, the music, the *tempo* of the Master? Does it resemble him in essential details? If so, is there nothing in the design that betrays the copyist, the imitator, or a later hand?

The mood is, to my sense, entirely Antonello's, unappealing, beyond pain or, for that matter, pleasure, nay, beyond all contingencies short of material mutilation or utter destruction. In all those respects it is the mood of many Egyptian statues of the early Empire, a mood of



FIG. 93. HEAD OF A STATUE OF TI (ABOUT 2600 B.C.)

Cairo Museum



FIG. 94. HEAD OF THE ANGEL GABRIEL. XIIIth CENTURY

Toulouse Museum



FIG. 95. ANTONELLO DA MESSINA: DETAIL OF ST. SEBASTIAN
Museo Civico, Verona

complete satisfaction with mere existence. It is the mood of supreme affirmation¹ (fig. 93).

Turning to essential details, we begin with the head of the principal figure (fig. 95). The round oval, the eyes wide apart, the large cheeks, the firm mouth, make of this face the composite, as it were, of all the faces now recognized as Antonello's. It happens luckily to be the least ruined part of the composition. Indeed, there is enough left upon which to frame an opinion, and I doubt whether any Italian of the fifteenth century, except Antonello himself, could have produced a head so close to being geometrical without approaching 'Cubism', or set in it a pair of eyes so well placed in their sockets and looking so alive, or put on it hair which at once models the cranium so perfectly and yet covers it with such vigorous growth. It is a head which has something almost Attic about it, which in curve and proportion and expression reminds one of Pheidias, and of such a distant but distinct echo of Pheidias as we catch in the Angel of the famous twelfth-century Annunciation at Toulouse² (fig. 94).

The torso, with its high, broad shoulders and slim waist, suggests the Egyptian youthful nude. Unfortunately we have no original by Antonello with which to compare it, except the great St. Sebastian at Dresden. That gives us no help save in one respect, which is that in neither torso is there a trace of Squarcione-Mantegnesque influence. The massive yet gem-like arches in the background of the Dresden panel (fig. 96) and the foreshortening of the

¹ In Egypt I could never look at certain figures of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Dynasties without being reminded of Piero della Francesca by the best, of Antonello da Messina by the next best, and of Luca Signorelli by those of inferior quality.

Dear fellow students, do not therefore jump to the conclusion that the Italians just mentioned in the text must have studied and formed their style in the temple of Ptah at Memphis some 5,000 years ago!

² Again, please beware of concluding that Antonello must have studied with Pheidias, or at least with his unconscious Tolosan follower!

sprawling figure in the same work, no less than the whole design of another masterpiece, the Benson Madonna, witness that Antonello was well acquainted with Paduan art; and his neglect of its canon, or his indifference to it, is significant. It is very improbable that before 1479, the year in which Antonello died, any North Italian painter, not excepting a Venetian, even were he Bellini himself, would have constructed a torso in which there is so little display of anatomical science. In the Dresden figure and (in so far as the lamentable state of the work permits one to see) in the Verona fresco as well, there is no theoretical pre-occupation of any sort. To give existence was enough for him, as it was enough for the early Egyptians, or Piero della Francesca, Paul Veronese, and Velasquez.

If the confirmation afforded by Antonello's Sebastian at Dresden may seem somewhat vague, there is another work which might be more helpful, if only its condition were less deplorable. In the *Pietà* of the Correr Museum the torso must have had the same proportions as in our fresco. At present it is little more than a blur, but fortunately there exists a free version of the entire work (or perhaps an exact copy of a kindred one by Antonello) (fig. 97), done by his nephew, Antonio de' Saliba.¹ It has recently returned to Italy after a sojourn of some generations in the Imperial Museum of Vienna. It is hard, dry, and wooden, but, allowing for these defects, it is an exact enough rendering to enable us to reconstruct the original. We discover the same broad, high shoulders, the same narrow waist, and the same general proportions, as well as the same absence of anatomical display and theoretical pre-occupations.

In the middle distance of the fresco there may be seen, as we remember, two archers (fig. 98) with their backs to

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 4, fig. 53.

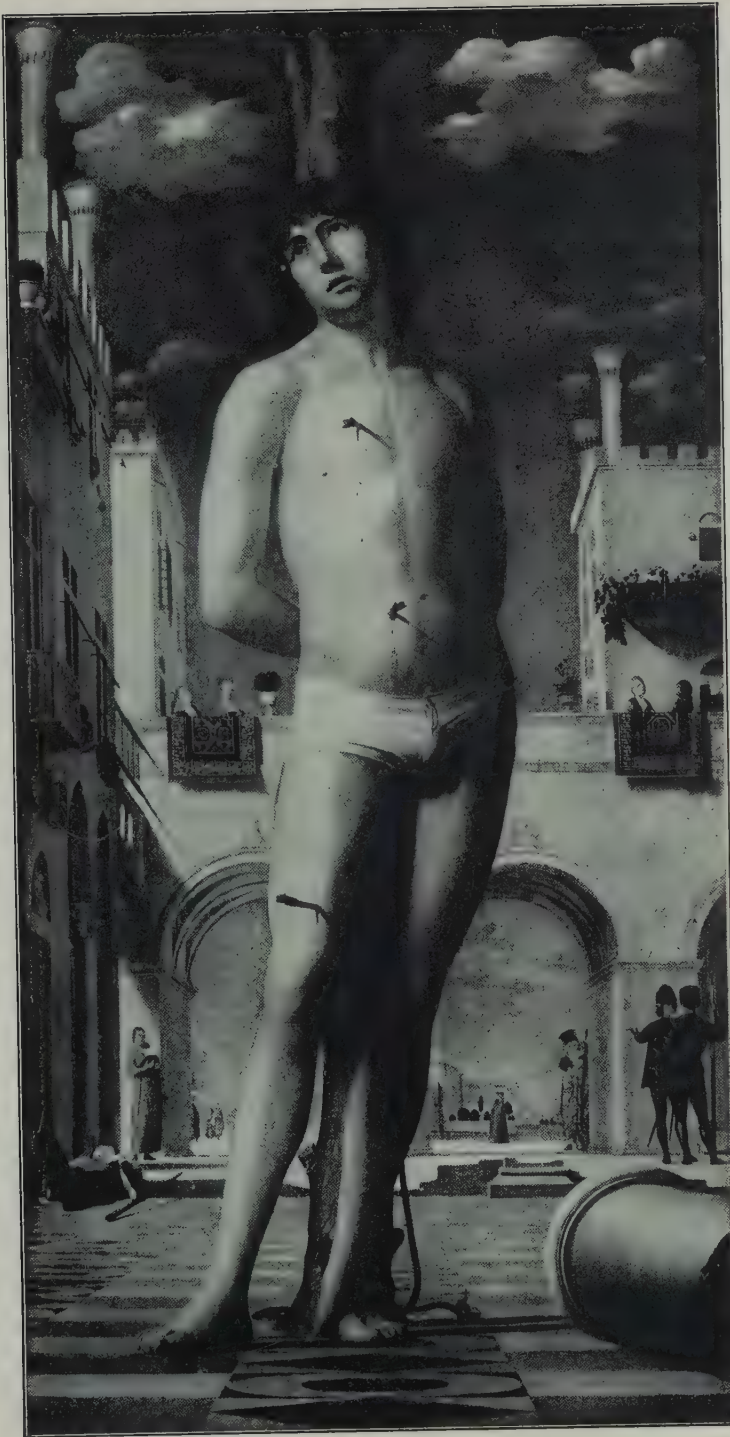


FIG. 96. ANTONELLO DA MESSINA: ST. SEBASTIAN
Dresden Gallery



FIG. 97. ANTONIO DE' SALIBA: PIETÀ

Venice, Museo Civico

us, walking away. They bear all the stronger testimony to being by Antonello owing to the fact that they are not identical with any other figures in that painter's work, while yet they so vividly remind us of the soldiers in the Dresden masterpiece (fig. 96) as well as of the far smaller soldiers in the Antwerp Crucifixion. I must add that I find something approaching supreme art in their gait, and in the way they are placed in their atmosphere, although auto-suggestion may possibly make me see more than is actually there.

There is nothing in this composition that, to my knowledge, betrays a date later than 1479, the date of Antonello's death. The architectural relations, the proportion of capital to column, and the projecting abacus, belong to the period and go well with the architecture in Antonello's Annunciation at Syracuse (fig. 99).

Naturally, no matter how Antonellesque the Verona fresco might be, if it betrayed the least evidence of a later date than 1479, we should have to ascribe it to a follower, although in that case we should have to admit that this follower was more gifted than any hitherto known. But we are under no such necessity. All the details which date it leave us free to assign it to Antonello himself, if the quality permits it.

The lamentable state of the work makes any qualitative judgement hazardous: but I confess that I am more than inclined to give it the benefit of the doubt. Look at the paintings of Jacobello or of Antonio and Pietro de' Saliba, and you must acknowledge how inferior these Sicilian products are to what remains of this impressive work. And after what has already been said about its freedom from Paduan influence, it will scarcely occur to any one to look for its author among the great painters of Verona or of any other North Italian School.

If it be by the Master himself, the probable date of this St. Sebastian is not hard to fix. Early in 1476 Antonello was called from Venice to Milan, where, as it seems, he could have remained but two or three months. Going or coming, he may have taken the few days required, assuming that everything was ready for him, to dash off this fresco. Fresco, it must be remembered, was quick work.

It is for my fellow students to decide, as in the long run they will, whether this ruin of a once wonderful design is to be admitted to the canon of Antonello's painting or not. Should it be eventually accepted, the image of the artist already built up in our minds would be enhanced but scarcely changed.

II

The case stands on an entirely different footing with regard to the second work which I have set out to discuss. It would be a very different Antonello, if we had to conclude that the picture to which we now turn was painted by him.

The Madonna (fig. 100) sits on a low ledge, with one hand supporting the naked Child Christ on her raised right knee, and with the other fingering the scroll that curls from the reed Cross held out by the Infant John. He, although appearing below on our left with head and shoulders only, responding to the blessing of the Son and playing with the Mother, absorbs the attention of both. The Virgin's unusually long face, with half-open mouth and pouting, almost sullen expression, is framed in by a heavy kerchief crumpled into many folds, and towers over a near horizon of low hills, against a sky mottled with clouds. A curtain on the left balances and buttresses the composition.

The composition is an impressive one—somehow. The Blessed Virgin, although so young and with so slim a face,



FIG. 98. ANTONELLO DA MESSINA: ARCHERS—DETAIL OF ST. SEBASTIAN

Museo Civico, Verona



FIG. 99. ANTONELLO DA MESSINA: ANNUNCIATION

Syracuse Museum

is nevertheless ponderous, and it is with a heavy lurch that she gets her right knee into position to support what seems to be a load so weighty as to cause her to lean sideways and back, like a rough-hewn monolith that is toppling to a fall. Yet the Child Himself is light enough, with knees crossed jauntily, grasping the hem of her mantle and swinging around to bless with His sober, serious, and almost solemn face, which contradicts His pose.

We are puzzled by these contrasts, not to say contradictions, and as we are subconsciously being influenced by the sheer weight of the mass, we are disposed to look for something mysterious in a face which perhaps is not even puzzled, but only dull. Our grandfathers were thrilled by Guido Reni's ecstatic visages, whose silly emptiness now rouses our laughter. Our grandchildren may wonder what any of us found to admire in a mask like this Virgin's: perhaps they will call it wooden.

We must not anticipate the future. At present it would seem that this picture enjoys no little favour. Every picture has its day, and it is not my intention to discuss the vogue which this one is enjoying. What I cannot see is why it is ascribed to Antonello da Messina, and against that attribution I must raise a protest.¹

There is surely nothing of Antonello in the design. His tendency is towards compactness of grouping and towards shapes approaching the geometrical, cylindrical and pyramidal for choice. He would have seized the occasion to make a grand pyramid out of the three figures, which would readily have lent themselves to it, had the artist realized his opportunity. So little did he realize it, that the effect

¹ I have never seen the original, and shall therefore avoid every discussion that cannot be based on facts revealed by photographs alone. It has changed hands more than once in the course of two years, and it is uncertain where it will be when these words appear in print. *Metropolitan Mus., Catalogue 1922*

of pyramidal mass, considered merely as shape, is frittered away by the Child, whose gleaming nakedness projects violently out of it. As a matter of fact, this surface and the Madonna's much-bekerchiefed face are playing against each other and pulling apart as hard as they can. That may be a new principle of composition not yet classified, at all events not universally appreciated; but it is centrifugal, and Antonello's was elaborately, perhaps deliberately, centripetal.

The principal figure is vast and yet flat. The outlines of shoulders and arms do not imperatively evoke a sense of the third dimension; for all they make me feel, she may be hollow-backed like a Serbian wood-fairy.

This leads me to speak of the singular want of articulation in this huge torso. One sees that it is enormous and vaguely anthropomorphic, but one can distinguish little else. Instead of being able to ideate its movements, one doubts whether it could move. Think away such obvious labels as head and hand, divest the figure of draperies, and it is hard to imagine what would be left. Scarcely a human nude; rather a stock or stone.

No doubt that would be a cruel test to submit it to, yet it is one from which a great work of art could not but rise radiant and triumphant. I am here reminded of what happened to a friend of mine travelling in Mexico. He arrived at a place of pilgrimage much frequented by the natives, who came to worship a healing, life-prolonging, child-giving, all-sorts-of-miracle-working Virgin, bedecked and bedizened with finery and rings, chains and jewels of every description, and with watches in abundance. Nevertheless she was somehow impressive and not altogether unworthy of the awe, reverence, and gratitude she inspired; and yet—and yet—he wondered! Finally his curiosity got the better of him, and he arranged to see this desire of so many naive



FIG. 100. ATTRIBUTED TO ANTONELLO DA MESSINA: MADONNA AND INFANT JOHN



FIG. 101. GIOVANNI BELLINI: ST. JUSTINE
Milan, Bagatti Valsecchi Collection

souls all by himself. With sacrilegious hands he put aside the wax face and satin garments, touched and felt about, and discovered nothing more nor less than a stone, so rude, so crude that it must have gone back ages and ages and ages, to a far-away, primitive state, when man, although even less human than he is at present, was already obeying Zarathustra's command to be hard. It is to this image that Pater should have intoned the famous chant which he wasted upon Monna Lisa, for man in the long run worships neither mystery nor enigma, but the hardness in the stone.

And that, perhaps, is what makes our Madonna, too, somehow impressive, notwithstanding her general lack of articulation and in spite of the queer high saddle for the Child to ride upon, a knee which I defy any one to recognize as a knee.

But before descending to details let us first ask whether this design has Antonello's mood, his music, his *tempo*?

Surely not! Unless the subject imperatively dictates otherwise, as in his Christ at the Column or his *Pietà*, Antonello's personages always express, more than anything else, a deep, quiet satisfaction with mere existence. As we have observed, his Sebastian at Verona seems to find life amply worth living, despite the arrows sticking into him. It may be objected that he is not necessarily Antonello's. Let us take then the indisputable Sebastian of Dresden. There is no tremor, no lassitude, no suffering in this youthful nude, not even in the face, where, although the mouth is wide open, I read abstraction, perhaps contemplation, but no distress, no gloom, although the subject would have justified both. As for Antonello's Madonnas, it would be easier to make them smile than sulk, and, while they may not look clever or soulful, they are immaculately free from

the sort of gloom that emanates from this Virgin's face : and their whole bodies tingle with life.¹

But we shall be told that neither appreciation nor depreciation are arguments. They are not abstract dialectical processes, intended to convince by force of logic, but attempts to state experiences, and experiences will not be reduced to equations, and are therefore unamenable to the syllogism. So let us get into a region more favourable to argument and conviction. Let us get down to detailed and, where possible, quantitative things.

Now it is fairly evident that the shape in general, and the length in particular, of this Madonna's face in our picture are different from the proportions of any oval usually accepted as Antonello's. His are shorter, broader, less schematic. Although it is true that under the influence of Giovanni Bellini his facial oval does become rather longer and more regular, as in the Vienna Madonna, the Dresden St. Sebastian, and the Palermo Virgin Annunciate, yet even the last, which comes nearest to the Venetian classical type as exploited by Cima, is far from being as long and symmetrical as ours. Nor do I find any oval exactly like it in paintings that come close to Antonello without being his, such as the Madonna Enthroned of the Syracuse Cathedral, the one in Mr. Grenville Winthrop's Collection in New York, the altar-piece by Antonio de' Saliba at Spoleto, the Salting Madonna and the St. Rosalie by the same hand in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia, and again the Madonna by Jacobello at Bergamo. I more than suspect that such an exaggeratedly long and regular oval as we see in our Madonna, which is of obvious Bellinesque descent, coming down from a face like the Bagatti St. Justine

¹ Most of the works by Antonello and his immediate followers are reproduced in Venturi's *Storia*, vol. vii. 4, and in my *Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, third series, as well as in my *Venetian Painting in America*.



FIG. 101. ANTONELLO DA MESSINA: MADONNA

London, Benson Collection



FIG. 103. LORENZO LOTTO: PORTRAIT OF YOUNG MAN

Bergamo, Carrara Gallery

(fig. 101), no longer belongs to the *Quattrocento*, and may indeed have been designed by an artist who saw and echoed Giorgione's Castelfranco altar-piece.¹

Then take note of the manner in which the head is draped. Antonello invariably drapes a head so as to bring out its unity with the torso, as one pyramidal mass, and so as to give adequate tactile values. His head-dresses contain therefore very few folds, arranged merely to cover up the hollow between head and shoulder, and drawn tight enough to communicate the fullest sense of the form and mass of the cranium. Nothing of this kind is to be seen in our picture. The scarf the Virgin wears sets off the face, but does little else; certainly it does not help to convince us that the head has a back and is not merely a hollow mask. Indeed, the drapery of the face suggests again a system introduced much later by Giovanni Bellini, in obedience to other and less rigidly plastic standards. I also suspect that the exact twist of the kerchief which we find here is not earlier than 1500. At all events, as we shall see towards the end of this study, it is only in pictures after that date that we find anything like it.

We need not discuss all the features by themselves, because they are subsumed in the question of proportions, but there is one which I must mention. Our Madonna has a normal mouth of a size proportioned to the face. It has none of the peculiarities of Antonello's mouths, of which the typical instance is the one in the Benson Madonna (fig. 102), so typical that it recurs even in most of his portraits. It is rather irregular, with full lips tending to draw apart from within like a bursting fig, and with the upper lip slightly

¹ At this point I cannot refrain from mentioning the Portrait of a Youth at Bergamo, now accepted by everybody as Lotto's, and therefore of a date not earlier than 1500, in which the nose is of the same length as in our Madonna, the mouth at least as close to Antonello, and the facial oval closer, while the axis is nearly as much off the vertical as here (fig. 103).

raised at the corners and reaching well beyond the lower lip.

As to the hands, it is enough merely to ask ourselves what these rigid and wooden extremities have to do with Antonello's supple and flexible hands. We shall nevertheless return to them later.

Looking at the way the figure of the Virgin is draped, we can discover in her dress and mantle no resemblance to the long-drawn folds of geometrical tendency so characteristic of Antonello, while the almost equally characteristic creases and triangular loops, with which students of Antonello are too well acquainted to demand examples, are entirely absent. The draperies remind me, rather, of Bellini and his followers; and even, between the left wrist and the knee, of Leonardo—the later Leonardo, I mean. At this point I may also draw attention to the tunic, which differs by its plainness from the elaborately flowered tunics which we find in all of Antonello's known pictures.

Let us turn from the Madonna to the Children. The little Baptist is the most Antonellesque thing in the picture. If you asked me why, I should be hard put to it for an answer. It is a sort of accepted notion that any heavy jowl with plenty of bobbed hair must be of the school of Messina. In the Christ Child, however, there is nothing of the kind. He seems to go back in fairly direct line to the *putti* in the Frari triptych that Giovanni Bellini signed in 1488. His self-possessed pose, with its approach to Michelangesque *contrapposto*, and His condescending expression, point to an even later date, later than the turn of the century. Observe His elaborate and elegant curls: there is nothing like them in any work by Antonello or his immediate followers. They come out of Giovanni Bellini, who has similar ones in his earlier period, as in the sublime Christ in the Garden of the National Gallery and the overpowering *Pietà* of the

Brera. Yet a moment's glance suffices to show how crisp and vigorous are the curls in those archaic masterpieces, and how mechanical and lifeless they are in this work.

Before leaving the figures and giving our attention to the rest of the picture, I want to say a word about the Cross held out by the little Baptist. It is not the carpentered bejewelled Cross still current throughout Italy during the lifetime of Antonello, but an almost weightless affair of slender reeds.

This reed Cross has its own history—as what has not? In Florence after the middle of the century the shaft and the bar tended to become simpler and thinner, and towards the end of the century, but absolutely not earlier, we find them sometimes to be made of reeds, or of canes with knots at regular intervals. Thus, to give a few outstanding examples, such a Cross occurs in the Tanai de Nerli altarpiece by Filippino Lippi in S. Spirito at Florence; in three *Tondi* by Piero di Cosimo, the Nativities in the Dresden and Borghese Galleries, and the Madonna with the two Infants embracing, once in the Ginori, and last heard of in the Beattie Collection at Glasgow, and also in two *Tondi* by R. del Garbo at Naples (Photo Brogi 6900), and in the Corporation Gallery at Glasgow. Later on in Florence it grows more and more difficult to find any other type of Cross than this, whether held by or accompanying the Infant Baptist; and, so far as I know, no other kind occurs in the works of Fra Bartolommeo, Franciabigio, Bugiardini, or Andrea del Sarto. Umbria, so closely in touch with Florence, was the next to take up this form of Cross, and indeed the closest parallel to the one in our picture, with the scroll thus curling down from the bar, occurs in a late Holy Family by Pintoricchio in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge, U.S.A.

In Venice this type of Cross first appears about 1510, in such masterpieces of Giovanni Bellini's studio as the Madonna with the Baptist and Catherine of the Giovanelli Collection, and the Berlin triptych (no. 20), with a lunette ascribed to one of our fictions—all the higher professions have their fictions, so why not we?—the so-called 'Pseudo-Basaiti'.

The conclusion forces itself upon us that a reed Cross like ours would certainly not have been painted in or out of Florence before 1479, the date of Antonello's death, and in Northern Italy or Sicily it could scarcely have made its appearance before 1500 or even 1510.

Refreshed (if one can say so) by this parenthesis, we can now devote ourselves to the landscape and accessories of our picture. The landscape is, to my taste at least, the best part of the whole thing. It has a pleasant rhythm, and it is grandly displayed by the heavy curtain which reaches to the very top. It is quiet, it is intimate: but it is not Antonello's. Antonello places his horizon far away; the painter of our picture brings it near. Antonello's landscapes (except in the Dresden Sebastian, which is obviously based on Venice and its coasts) are redolent of the south of Italy, its buildings and its flora. His foliage, unlike what we have here, is bristling and crisp, his countryside are generally peopled with figures that appear almost as tiny and insignificant as in nature itself. They are, in short, rather like the landscapes of the Van Eycks and their immediate followers. But our landscape is sober to a fault, severe and cold. The foliage is of the North, even poplars being distinguishable: the church has nothing southern about it: as far as the eye can reach, there is no living thing. But as I am not acquainted with the original, and so wish to avoid speaking of qualitative differences, I

will not compare it from a purely aesthetic point of view with Antonello's landscapes.

So far, then, it would appear that there is nothing in this Madonna and Child with the Infant John which, when at all closely examined, answers to what we justly expect of Antonello. The cumulative effect of our detailed search is one of wonder as to how any one could ascribe this respectable, not unimpressive, but hard and heavy picture to the great Sicilian. Detail upon detail bears witness to a later date and probably to a North Italian origin.

III

We are now entitled to take larger views and to embark upon general and, I believe, much more decisive considerations.

To begin with, I will hazard the statement that the mere description of our picture as a Madonna and Child with the Infant John leads inevitably to the conclusion that Antonello had nothing to do with it, for such a subject must either be Florentine in origin, or date from a period later than the lifetime of Antonello. Even in Florence itself this composition in 1479, when Antonello died, was only peeping, as it were, through the window. A Leonardo was already seeing its possibilities, although it was not for another decade that this theme and treatment became at all frequent in Florence. In the rest of Italy, excepting always that suburb of Florence known as Perugia, it seems never to have been heard of until the beginning of the *Cinquecento*.

The fact is that it is a strictly Florentine theme, compounded of the Tuscan delight in the playful *putto*, and the cult of the Patron Saint, John the Baptist. To reduce him to a child, and as a child to put him in touch with

the Christ Child, gave satisfaction to certain cravings that Florentines were the first of Renaissance Europeans to feel. Let me substantiate my statement by a more detailed study of this subject among the artists of Florence.¹

One would expect Donatello, the fount and origin of most things in modern art, to have invented it. He may indeed have done so, and mere accident may have destroyed the evidence, since we find no trace of it in his surviving works. Indeed, it is by no means certain that the Baptist, as an infant by himself alone, occurs among unquestionable Donatellos, the grey stone relief in the Bargello being probably by Desiderio.

Desiderio himself brought the two Boys together in the marvellous Niccolini marble, now in the Arconati Visconti Collection of the Louvre; and he and Rossellino and others carved those busts of the one or the other of the Holy Infants which were destined centuries later to find their way across the Atlantic. But it was left to Desiderio's follower, Mino, in his Fiesole triptych of about 1465, to place the two Children, the One blessing and the other worshipping, in the presence of the Madonna.

There, for the first time it would seem, was the theme of our picture so closely approached that you would have expected to see it fully developed in a few years. But evidently up to this point the motive only occurred when the dedication of the altar required it. It was still far from becoming the popular theme, which we, accustomed to the iconography of the early *Cinquecento*, are so familiar with that we should not be startled to meet it in any

¹ The Baptist as a Youth is a different theme. We find him in ecstasy in a painting of about 1500 in the Johnson Collection of Philadelphia (no. 77); we find him casting off his raiment to clothe himself in skins before taking to the wilderness, in a Domenico Veneziano belonging to Mr. Carl Hamilton of New York; we find him meeting the youthful Jesus in the early Ghirlandajo (no. 93), and again in the Sellajo (no. 94) at Berlin.



FIG. 104. LEONARDO DA VINCI: DRAWINGS FOR A NATIVITY

New York, Metropolitan Museum



FIG. 105. FRANCESCO BOTTICINI: NATIVITY
Florence, Pitti



FIG. 106. FOLLOWER OF COSIMO ROSSELLI: NATIVITY
Formerly in Aynard Collection, Lyons

Christian century. As a matter of fact, Florentine, let alone Italian sculpture in general, seems at this date to have had no fondness or no occasion for it, and a full generation had to pass before the Infant John so much as appeared again in any sculptor's composition. Then it was Michelangelo who used the theme in his *Tondi*, one of which is now in the Bargello, the other in Burlington House.

Meanwhile Florentine painting, as distinct from sculpture, took up the Infant Baptist and made him its own. At first, as in a picture by Fra Filippo in the Berlin Gallery, we see him with his jewelled Cross timidly drawing near to the glade, perhaps at Camaldoli or Vallombrosa, where Our Lady kneels in worship of the Child. This motive of the Baptist present as a mere bystander was worked up in various ways, with increasing frequency through the second half of the fifteenth century. In the Nativity by the young Botticini at Modena¹ he is merely present, and had he but wings and no tunic of skins, he could not be distinguished from the little Angels. In the Sellajo of the Pitti (no. 304, Photo Brogi 2911) it is the little John who seems to be blessing, while the Holy Child throws up His hands to His mother. In the *Tondo* at Dresden painted towards the end of the century, Piero di Cosimo lets him caress the head of the Infant Christ, who, however, seems to remain unaware of his presence. In the same artist's later *Tondo* in the Borghese Gallery (no. 343), the Infant John is kneeling and worshipping, and the Child, lying on the ground, has taken the reed Cross and is playing with it, without giving the least attention to its owner.

All these treatments are probably reminiscent of designs of the youthful Leonardo, of paintings that almost certainly once existed, and of drawings which still exist. In the

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 1, 793.

Bonnat Collection at Bayonne there is the famous pen sketch for an Adoration of the Shepherds,¹ where the little John bends over the Child, who apparently does not see him. It is not quite certain whether or not He is looking at him in another drawing for the same subject at Venice,² but in a sheet of sketches in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, which I reproduce (fig. 104) as it is little known, there is one that leads up to the Virgin of the Rocks—the painting in which for the first time to my knowledge the Infant John worships and the Christ Child not only becomes aware of him but goes so far as to bless him. Leonardo himself must have felt that he was making a presumptuous innovation, for he brings in an Angel with pointing hand to guide the Child's attention to the Baptist.

Having mentioned this most satisfactory of all Leonardo's finished works, I may be pardoned for speaking of a fancy that has occurred to me in connexion with the study of the Infant John.

In a number of Florentine *Tondi*, painted between 1480 and 1510, the Baptist appears worshipping the Child, with or without Angels or Saints, but always within an enclosure, within the *Hortus Conclusus*, so dear to the German art of the fifteenth century. The earliest of these paintings is the captivating Botticini in the Pitti (fig. 105) where roses are being strewn, as on the Festival of Corpus Domini. Although probably dating from a time when the Virgin of the Rocks already existed, the little Baptist, prominent enough in the foreground, is still there as a mere worshipper, unseen by the Christ Child. In a work somewhat later, but yet before 1490, by some painter closer to Cosimo Rosselli than to Piero di Cosimo, there was a panel in

¹ Berenson, pl. cii; Jens Thiis, *Leonardo*, English edition, p. 181; Seidlitz, pl. viii.

² Seidlitz, vol. i, p. 33.

the Aynard Collection (fig. 106), in which the Child lies on the massive kerb of a well filled with flowers, and does not see the little Baptist among the worshippers. In a picture at Breslau ascribed to Garbo, but nearer to Piero di Cosimo (fig. 107), painted no earlier than 1500, the Blessed Virgin, surrounded by worshipping Angels who lean on the enclosure wall, addresses herself to St. Catherine, while the Holy Child stretches feebly towards the little Baptist. But the most wonderful of all these *Tondi* would be the famous Botticelli of the Borghese (no. 169, fig. 108), if only it were an autograph by the Master, and not a muffled and half-extinguished imitation. Here the little John kneels in an ecstasy of worship and the Child graciously blesses him. But we have reached 1500, and Antonello was dead these twenty years and more.

At the moment, however, this is not the point of chief interest. What preoccupies me is the notion that the mystic enclosure exemplified in the pictures just mentioned took, in the brain of Leonardo, a shape not at all like these child fancies, but august, entranced, and mysterious, and thus gave us the Virgin of the Rocks.¹ In that sublime creation we are far removed from the lovely little garden within or on the castle walls and ramparts, and even farther away from the rich burgher's prettily laid out backyard. The genius of Leonardo sweeps us as far away from the lingering medievalism of the *Quattrocento* as Coleridge, in the

¹ These vertical and horizontal ledges, these magically framed rocks and bold monolithic cross-beams, are probably transcripts and recombinations of the impressive, even marvellous caverns quarried out on the slopes of the Monte Ceceri—the self-same mountain at Fiesole from which Leonardo expected to take flight on a machine he was inventing. It might be argued that by the time the Milanese version of the Virgin of the Rocks (National Gallery) was made, the Infant Baptist had become such a familiar figure that he no longer required to be introduced, wherefore in the later picture the Angel ceases pointing and becomes superfluous. I note, by the way, that Seidlitz dates the original 1491-4. I am convinced that it is earlier, but not so early as 1479, the year in which Antonello da Messina died.

evocations of 'Kubla Khan', carries us beyond Franco Sacchetti's or even Poliziano's boyish delight in May Day.

But to return to the Infant John in Florentine *Quattrocento* painting. If I were writing a book on the subject it would be a pleasure to see what each of the better Masters did with the theme. Let me at least follow Botticelli, although I am saddened by the disappearance of so many of the originals. Thus, in the famous Louvre Madonna,¹ who is seen against a background of roses and pine-stems, reminiscent probably of the *Hortus Conclusus*, the Boy Baptist looks on wistfully but expects no response; while in a somewhat later panel, whose original must have been among the most appealing and poignant of Sandro's creations, a Madonna which in 1918 belonged to M. Maurice Sulzbach of Paris (fig. 109), the Baptist tries eagerly and eloquently to draw the Holy Child's attention to himself, but still in vain: and it is only in the Borghese *Tondo* from Sandro's last years that, as we have already noticed (fig. 108), the Baptist kneels and the Infant Christ blesses him, although as yet with no more than gracious condescension. Then in a fascinating late design, of which but a poor version remains,² we see the Saviour almost slipping out of His Mother's hands in His eagerness to get nearer to the other child. Finally, we see Him in the picture in the Pitti (no. 357, fig. 110) again held with difficulty by His Mother, but at last cheek to cheek, arm in arm with the Child Baptist.

Long before this, perhaps twenty years earlier, other Florentines had already represented the Children as embracing or about to embrace. From the great success that this motive had in Milan, where it was eventually treated by itself, detached even from the Madonna, as in Oggiono's

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 1, p. 605.

² Collection G. Dreyfus, Paris, fig. 111.



FIG. 107. FOLLOWER OF PIERO DI COSIMO: MADONNA WITH ST. CATHERINE
Breslau Gallery



FIG. 108. STUDIO OF BOTTICELLI: MADONNA WITH INFANT JOHN
Rome, Borghese Gallery



FIG. 109. STUDIO OF BOTTICELLI: MADONNA WITH INFANT JOHN

Formerly in Sulzbach Collection, Paris

famous Hampton Court panel, I suspect that it, too, was invented by Leonardo, or at least that he developed and launched it. We see it coming step by step, and could stop at each, but it is better to limit ourselves to the most conspicuous examples. In a Madonna by Botticini at Mrs. Gardner's in Boston, which is surely a transcript of a Botticelli of about 1480, we see the Child presented to His Mother, not by one or more Angels as in Fra Filippo's supreme masterpiece in the Uffizi, and in other pictures by Verrocchio and possibly by Botticelli,¹ but by the little Baptist, who struggles to land Him safely in His Mother's lap (fig. 112). In a Ghirlandajesque panel, belonging to Herr v. Auspitz of Vienna (fig. 113), painted about 1487, the Infant Christ, safe in His Mother's arms, reaches down towards and embraces, but does not yet kiss, the Baptist. In a *Tondo* at Cologne² by that curiously close follower of Credi whom Morelli called 'Tommaso', the Child strokes the Baptist's cheeks; and in a Madonna at Dresden (no. 22, fig. 75) that I would ascribe to Raffaellino del Garbo, despite its Umbro-Flemish appearance, it is the little John who is more active, reaching up to embrace, and here at last kissing the Infant. Finally, we have instance after instance of the fully developed motive of the two Children brought together by one or more persons for a full embrace, as in the Warren Filippino (fig. 76), and in a composition by the same artist known to us only in a studio version at Lille which I reproduce here (fig. 114). It is a sort of combination of the Nativity and the Rest in the Flight, with St. Joseph bringing the Children together on the pack, which has been taken off the ass and laid on the ground.³ Another instance

¹ Naples, Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 1, 592.

² Reinach, *Répertoire*, v. 349.

³ It is probably earlier than Perugino's Nativity in the Pitti, with the Child on what has become a mere sack (Bombe, Perugino, 81). We have here, by the way, the origin of more than one famous design by Andrea del Sarto and his contemporaries.

is a *Tondo* by Piero di Cosimo (fig. 115), which was once, and perhaps is still, in the Beattie Collection at Glasgow, in which the Blessed Virgin clasps the Holy Children as they embrace. Here, indeed, we find forms and execution more worthy of Antonello than in the picture I am trying to prove cannot possibly be his; but no one as yet has had the idea of attributing it to the famous Sicilian.

There are scores of other pictures which contain the Infant John as part of their design, and some of them show interesting developments or variants; but we must now approach that aspect of the theme which we find in the picture we are engaged upon, where the Madonna is seated with the Child sitting in her lap blessing the Infant John, who appears below on our left.

To those who are familiar with the career of Leonardo it is surprising not to find this precise idea treated by him. Its lack may be a mere accident, for we do, as a matter of fact, possess designs of his that come very close to it. In an epoch-making drawing at Windsor (fig. 116), done before 1480, Leonardo to some extent anticipates his own Cartoon of about twenty-five years later, for the Virgin and St. Anne, now at Burlington House. In both, the Infant John leans with his elbows in the same attitude, but with this significant difference, that in the early drawing the Holy Child sucks at His Mother's breast, unaware of him, while in the Cartoon He reaches forward to bless him.

In Credi's youthful and Leonardesque work,¹ painted probably quite as early as the drawing just referred to, the little Baptist may be seen almost as in our Madonna ascribed to Antonello, in profile with head and shoulders only; and while the girlish Mother looks at him the Child is intent upon a cherry in her hand and pays no attention to him. It is, I think, not till nearly 1490 that we find Credi repre-

¹ Dresden, no. 13, fig. 117.

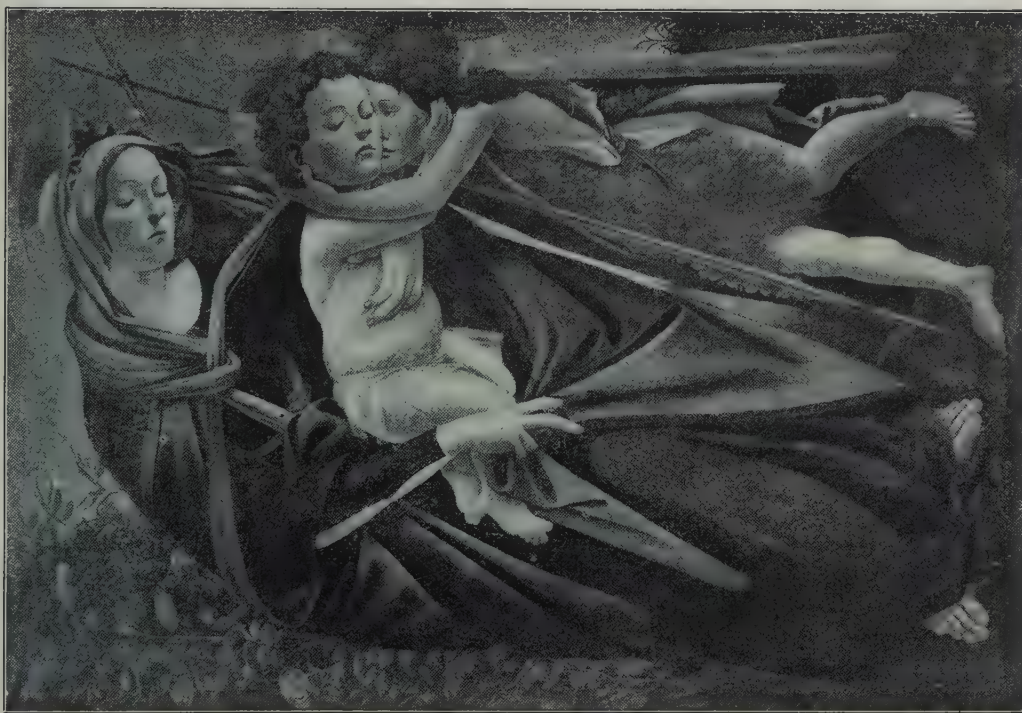


FIG. 116. STUDIO OF BOTTICELLI: MADONNA
WITH INFANT JOHN
Florence, Pitti



FIG. 111. STUDIO OF BOTTICELLI: MADONNA
WITH INFANT JOHN
Paris, Dreyfus Collection



FIG. 112. FRANCESCO BOTTICINI: MADONNA WITH INFANT JOHN

Boston, U.S.A., Fenway Court

senting the Child blessing His little precursor. This is in the graceful *Tondo* of the Borghese Gallery (no. 483, fig. 118), where the Mother brings the two babes together between her maternal hands. About the same time a follower of Ghirlandajo, perhaps Mainardi, in a painting of the Johnson Collection in Philadelphia (fig. 119), lifted the Virgin and Child out of Domenico’s Innocenti Epiphany of 1488 and substituted, to receive the Child’s blessing, the profile bust of the Infant Baptist for the figure of the Wise King.

It is not necessary to pursue the subject farther, as what we have already learned obliges us to conclude that it was only towards 1490 that examples of the Madonna with the Child blessing the little Baptist begin to appear even in Florence where the motive originated. It remained infrequent till after 1500. What then launched it was, first of all, the Leonardo Cartoon of 1504 for the Virgin and St. Anne, and next the fancy for the Infant Baptist—itself possibly the direct consequence of that Cartoon—which seized the most gifted of Leonardo’s followers, namely Raphael, Raphael of Urbino. One could imagine that at least for the five years intervening between 1505 and 1510, Raphael’s artistic activity consisted largely in carrying out post-hypnotic suggestions received from the inventive, inspiring, but mysteriously inhibited Etrurian mage. A score of times at least does the Infant Baptist occur among Raphael’s autograph works, and it would be merely tedious to look for him among the endless products of his factory and following. More tedious still would it be to enumerate instances in the Madonnas of Fra Bartolommeo, Andrea del Sarto, and their schools, where the little John occurs more often than not.

Outside Florence the Infant Baptist can be discovered in no painting much earlier than 1500. Only in Perugia, which has already been called a suburb of Florence in

matters of art, does he appear perhaps soon after 1490. The earliest instance I have been able to find is in a Peruginesque *Tondo* at Verona,¹ where an Angel takes him by the shoulders and makes him worship. In a somewhat later panel at Frankfort by Perugino himself,² he almost succeeds in attracting the attention of his little Master. In the still later Nativity, on the other hand,³ he kneels at a distance from the Child. Seldom, perhaps never in Perugino, do we find the theme of the Holy Children playing together, which in Florence was already so frequent between 1490 and 1500. The one picture in which Perugino lets the Infant Saviour bless His precursor is the well-known panel of late date at Nancy,⁴ in which, curiously enough, the Umbrian harks back to the Virgin of the Rocks designed by a Florentine thirty years earlier. As for the only other Umbrian painter of this period worth mentioning, I mean Pintoricchio, we find that in his masterpiece, the polyptych of 1498 from S. Maria degli Angeli, now in the Perugia Gallery,⁵ without stressing the action, he permits the Infant Christ to play with the long-shafted jewelled Cross that the Baptist holds out to Him. Every other picture by Pintoricchio in which the little John occurs is much later. In one, now in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A.,⁶ the two Children are shaking hands.

Even after 1500, the Infant John is not at first frequent outside of Florence. It is only about 1520, thanks to Raphael first, and then to Leonardo's *Cinquecento* followers in Lombardy, that he becomes an almost indispensable figure in a Madonna picture.

That Raphael and the Leonardeschi were the chief carriers of the motive is shown by the following statistics:

¹ Bombe, Perugino, 197.

³ Pitti, no. 219, Bombe, 81.

⁵ Bombe, op. cit., p. xxix.

² Ibid., 33.

⁴ Bombe, 153.

⁶ Reinach, *Répertoire*, iv. 466.

At least twenty of Raphael's unquestioned designs contain the young Baptist; and at least a dozen of Luini's, and ten of Sodoma's; while Boltraffio, Gianpietrino, Cesare da Sesto, and Solario all have fewer and fewer in the degree that their careers and their works go back towards 1500.

In the Este dominions and Bologna the little Baptist never occurs, to my recollection, before the end of the fifteenth century, not even in Francesco Francia. In his works we find the young John beginning to appear towards 1500, as in his *Madonna at Brescia*¹ and later, as in the *Madonna of the Orlov Davidov Collection at Petrograd*,² or the altar-piece in Venice,³ or the one in the National Gallery.⁴ In none of these does the Child pay the least attention to the Baptist. On the other hand, in the works of Francia's followers they are in contact, as in a *Madonna of the Poldi Collection by Tamaroccio* (Photo Brogi 15516), and in a *Mazzolino of Oldenburg of 1512* (Photo Onken). Parma was on the high road between Florence and Milan, and close enough to the Lombard capital to be subject to its influence, and we are not surprised to find the Infant John in a *Madonna of about 1501 or 1502 by Filippo Mazzola*, which was recently in the market. In it the Child blesses the Baptist, who kneels in worship.

In the Romagna, in the Marches, and in the rest of Italy south of Perugia, the figure of the Infant Baptist occurs in no work prior to 1500 that I can discover.

In Venetia it is the same, only that there, and in Venice itself more particularly, the Infant Baptist occurs more and more frequently after 1500. What is of peculiar interest to us, he more than once receives the Christ Child's blessing exactly as in the picture ascribed to Antonello da Messina which is the subject of this essay. The nearest

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 3, fig. 656.

³ *Ibid.*, 686.

² *Op. cit.*, fig. 642.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 702.

parallels occur in a panel by Basaiti, dating from about 1515, in the Vatican Gallery, and in such a Catenesque picture as the so-called Marco Belli of the Venice Academy (no. 101), dating from about 1520 (see Appendix for a list of the principal instances in Venetian painting before 1520).

The result of our survey, which fellow students will believe has not been as rapid to make as it is to read, being based on a good deal of research, may be summed up as follows:

The Infant Baptist is a Florentine invention, but even in Florence, despite Leonardo and Botticelli, Filippino and Piero di Cosimo, who evidently fostered and developed the motive, he does not become the almost indispensable adjunct to a Madonna picture till well after 1500. Milan, thanks to Leonardo, comes next towards 1510; but Venice only about 1520.

Outside Florence, the Infant John must have been so rare in Italian painting before 1500 that, excepting at Perugia, there seems to be no trace of him. Why should there be? Before the Madonna became the subject for easel pictures intended deliberately to give artistic pleasure, as she became in the hands of Raphael, the personages represented in a religious painting were invariably those whose intercession was required by the state, the town, the parish, the confraternity, or the family. The presence of the Virgin and Child was of course essential everywhere and on all occasions, and after them came the Saint or Saints whom the giver of the commission wanted to honour as the advocates who were to intercede for him before the Court of Heaven. There was no aesthetic nonsense about it in Ages of Faith, that is to say, in times when people believed at least as much in gods of varying degrees of immediate efficacy as we do in our solicitors, bankers, stockbrokers, and doctors. They were chary of going to



FIG. 113. DAVID GHIRLANDAJO (?): MADONNA WITH INFANT JOHN

Vienna, Herr Stefan von Auspitz



FIG. 114. COPY OF FILIPPINO LIPPI: NATIVITY

Lille Museum



FIG. 115. PIERO DI COSIMO: MADONNA WITH INFANT JOHN

Glasgow, Beattie Collection

Saints not already in long family practice. The greatest favourite of all was of course the patron Saint of the community.

The Infant John had no such standing anywhere. In a certain sense, he never came to have such standing even in Florence. There, however, owing to the fact that the Baptist, though not as a child, was the local patron, owing also to the almost unparalleled artistic activity of that centre and the delight of the artists in little children, and owing, finally, to the decline of Faith and the growth of aesthetic consciousness, the Infant Saviour was given an Infant Baptist for companion.

But why should Antonello da Messina, a Sicilian painter who died in 1479, have introduced him into a picture? How could it possibly have occurred to any client to ask it of him, when in his lifetime that would scarcely have entered the head even of a Florentine, and was unheard of in Sicily and Calabria, or even in the Veneto and the Milanese? I exclude the possibility that any artist before 1480 would have employed the little Baptist in a design just for fun.

The final upshot of this long parenthesis on the iconography of the Infant John is that his presence in a painting neither Florentine nor Perugian suffices to date it as not earlier than 1500. We have thus conquered a position of some value, for we are no longer at the mercy of the opponent who says, 'I also have scrupulously attended to all the Morellian precepts; I, too, have a sense of quality; I, too, see straight and clear, yet I dissent from you entirely'. Here, thank Heaven, we are no longer in a labyrinth of opinion, but in the open plain of statistics, of facts. You cannot oppose these with 'But that is what I feel'. They can be opposed only by other statistics, other facts. I invite them.

IV

A similar statistical survey brought us, a little earlier in this essay, to the conclusion that the reed Cross with which the little John in our picture plays exists nowhere before the date of Antonello's death, not even in Florence, let alone Sicily or Southern and Northern Italy. To those who would contend that Antonello, as a sovereign genius, was subject to no law of chronology, I would say, Is it not odd that, besides anticipating an important iconographic and decorative motive like the Infant Baptist by nearly an entire generation, he should also have been ahead of the fashion in Crosses by exactly the same stretch of time? It would be like being by so many decades ahead of one's contemporaries in the shape of one's hat, thereby defeating the one purpose of fashion, which is to be *in the fashion*, never lagging behind, but never running more than one step ahead.

I will now attempt to show that if our picture was painted by Antonello, he must have been a generation before all his fellows in a matter more serious than fashions in Crosses, more important even than the motive of the Infant Baptist. The author of our Madonna obeys a different law of composition from any followed in Antonello's accredited works, or in the works of any other *Quattrocento* Italian painter.

We may call the law adhered to by Antonello and his contemporaries the Law of Verticality. By this term I mean that the axis of the principal figure in a centralized design remains vertical, unless the action makes it obviously necessary to depart from it. Thus, in the Madonna pictures of Antonello's lifetime, the Blessed Virgin is always perpendicular. Later on in the fifteenth century, in Florence to begin with and then elsewhere, in answer to a craving

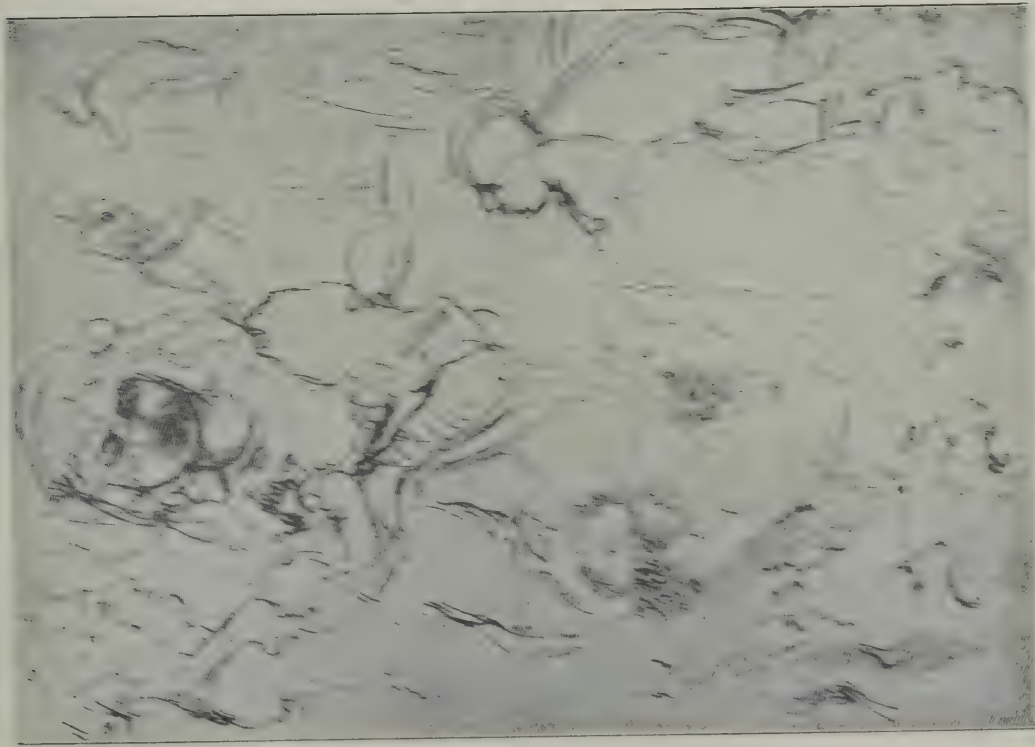


FIGURE 1. THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH TWO ANGELS
Michelangelo, The Virgin and Child



FIGURE 2. THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH TWO ANGELS
Raphael, The Virgin and Child



FIG. 118. LORENZO DI CREDI: MADONNA WITH INFANT JOHN
Rome, Borghese Gallery

for a more compact and therefore more pyramidal grouping, she bends not only her head but her torso as well, and it is naturally towards the spectator and never away from him. I doubt whether a single exception to this rule will be discovered before 1500.¹

And even after 1500 Italian art, for nearly another century, with almost no exceptions avoids the deliberately diagonal grouping or composition. There is, however, a strange exception in a picture in the Uffizi by Franciabigio (fig. 120). Not long ago it was still a famous ‘Raphael’ with the title of ‘La Madonna del Pozzo’. And the attribution is not without interest, for the composition likely enough is based upon some thought that fluttered through the mind of Raphael, who, like any other gifted person untainted with exhibitionism, scrupulously discarded the logicisms, absurdities, and fantasticalities that shoot up like mushrooms in one’s head, while one is working out a problem.

As luck would have it, we possess a record of this exact problem. It goes back to an eager student of the human body in action, namely to Signorelli, who in his *Tondo* in the Uffizi (fig. 121) places the Mother of our Lord, as if she were the Magna Mater of Phrygia, against a background of nudes, suggesting Pan and other sylvan deities, and gives her body an unusual twist, as she sits playing with the Child. Michelangelo took up this motive, as he did more than one other invented by Signorelli, his closest precursor, and developed, or rather distorted it, into what we see in his famous *Doni Tondo* (fig. 122). This is not the place

¹ I am confident that there was no such intention in Lotto’s altar-piece at S. Spirito in Bergamo (see my *Lorenzo Lotto*, ii, p. 145). Even if there were, we are at 1521. Still less can such an idea have been in Francia’s head when about 1480 he was painting the Bianchini Holy Family now at Berlin (Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 3, fig. 635), and even less in Antonio de’ Saliba’s while composing the Madonna Enthroned now at Spoleto (Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 4, fig. 50). Towards 1500, however, there is here and there a very slight tendency for the head to be off the vertical.

to give its due to Michelangelo's ominously symptomatic design. It certainly set Raphael in a ferment, but it is a joy to watch him throwing off all the grosser impurities that art cannot assimilate. In a pen drawing in Vienna (fig. 123) the Virgin still twists on her knees, but she no longer holds the Child acrobatically on her forearm as in Michelangelo's *Tondo*. He leans against her and reaches out towards the book she is reading, and by this device Raphael almost makes us forget the *contrapposto*. In a chalk study at Lille (fig. 124), the Virgin, sitting on the ground, stretches with her torso away from the composition, as if to help the Child in her lap to play at being afraid of the approaching Infant John. In the finished picture, the *Tondo* of the Hermitage (fig. 125), known as the Madonna Alba, every trace of a diagonal direction has been corrected by a system of draperies, which, leaving the original framework all but untouched, makes of the group a triumph of centralized composition.

But, then as now, what the eternally great man threw away furnished the entire stock-in-trade for the great man of the moment. Franciabigio took hold of this cast-off product and, by means too obvious to require explanation, made of it the one and only deliberate design of a completely diagonal character hitherto known in Italian art.

Let us take stock. In this picture, which, if by Antonello, must have been painted no later than 1478, the Child sits on His Mother's knee and blesses the Infant John standing or kneeling just below. The Child does not sit or stretch in the direction in which He is placed, but twists around in a way more characteristic of restless Michelangelo and his epoch than of static Antonello and his. The Infant Baptist holds a reed Cross with a scroll fluttering from its cross-bar such as scarcely existed before 1500. And this detail, just



FIG. 119. MAINARDI: MADONNA WITH INFANT JOHN

Philadelphia, Johnson Collection



FIG. 120. FRANCIABIGIO: 'LA MADONNA DEL POZZO'

Florence, Uffizi

because so trivial in itself, is a definite clue to the date. As to the design, it seems to be one of the only two Madonna pictures painted before 1550, or, to be on the safe side, let us say before 1520, in which the grouping is diagonal instead of vertical, centrifugal instead of centripetal. In that other design where this anomaly occurs, namely Franciabigio's Madonna del Pozzo of about 1510, there is no difficulty in tracing the history of the experiment back to its first beginnings a generation earlier. If our Madonna were by Antonello, we should indeed be taken unawares, for I have never encountered any other such instance of the sudden, utterly unprecedented appearance of a startling novelty in the whole of the three centuries of Italian art preceding 1550 that I happen to have made my special field of study. It is not from the head of the artist, but from the head of Jove alone, that Minerva springs forth full grown and all armed.

The chronological study of the various elements, as well as of the main motive of our Madonna, suffices to make it historically impossible that just such a pattern should have been designed before 1479. And even if it were possible, Antonello was the last painter in the world to have produced it, for there scarcely exists an Italian picture, except, of course, the Madonna del Pozzo, so utterly opposed to the artistic personality which we have built up as his. If it were proved that nevertheless he had done it, we should have to adopt clinical language and call it a 'beautiful case' of a dissociated personality such as a famous American writer on Abnormal Psychology, Morton Prince, has made us acquainted with under the name of Miss Beauchamp and Sally.

Every critic of the last twenty years who has written at any length upon Antonello, conspicuous among them being

Adolfo and Leonello Venturi, has harped on the great Master's partiality for the cylindrical, the pyramidal, the cubically geometrical, the centripetal, the centralized. What have we in our picture? A grouping deliberately diagonal and centrifugal. This might conceivably have been used to suggest the geometrical figure of a rhomboid, as the torso tilts away backwards as if to topple over like a falling menhir; but the painter had so little feeling for the geometrical that he spoils even this possibility by the tremendous projection of the Virgin's knee and the ex-crescential silhouette of the Infant Jesus. If Antonello designed a composition like this, exemplifying every principle most opposed to his artistic personality, he could have done it only as William Sharp wrote the prose poems of Fiona Macleod, as a perfectly distinct character which inhabited the same body with himself.¹ The product has no more to do with *our* Antonello than the obscene talk of Ophelia crazy has to do with the maidenly talk of Ophelia sane. Such unaccountable contradictions and jumps would reduce the history of art to the level of the chronicles of drivelling monks, a haphazard gathering of meaningless anecdotes and miracles.

It is to avert such a danger that I have taken the trouble—and, if need be, am ready to take a great deal more—to prove that this picture could not rationally have been designed by any Italian artist before 1479, or if, *per impossibile*, by any one, that artist could not have been Antonello. To reach my conclusion it was not necessary to depend on the Morellian methods of connoisseurship alone. These may be all-important in determining the

¹ A case that occurred in England some twenty-five years ago. William Sharp, publishing over his own name, wrote stuff of very ordinary interest, while, as 'Fiona Macleod', he wrote as a woman of no mean talent and power. It was curious that as William Sharp he imitated 'Fiona Macleod' just as haltingly as he did most of the other successful writers of his day.



FIG. 121. SIGNORELLI: MADONNA

Florence, Uffizi



FIG. 122. MICHELANGELO: 'LA MADONNA DONI'

Florence, Uffizi

difference between copy and original, or between one painter and another in a small group, but in this case the more palpable, more obvious, less subjective, and almost purely quantitative methods of archaeology suffice.

V.

If this Madonna with the Infant John is not by the great Master to whom it has been ascribed, it loses much of its interest. Yet I cannot dismiss it without trying to find out when and where, and, if possible, by whom it was painted. It would indeed be gratifying if I could satisfy any curiosity that may have been roused by the discussion, and could end up by saying: 'This picture is an impossible Antonello because it is a quite certain Somebody Else.'

I should also be glad if I could make those fellow students who are not yet convinced realize that in the following pages I am being chary of evidence, and that more, much more, is held in reserve.

I will again avoid the art-magic of connoisseurship, which alarms good people, and make shift with the archaeologist's plain evidence and humdrum statistics that everybody can follow and, if need be, check for themselves.

Enough evidence has already been accumulated to prove my main thesis, and so I have purposely left over several elements of design, although these too are scarcely less strictly confined within a definite limit of time and space than the three points already examined with such minuteness—that is to say, the Infant Baptist, the reed Cross, and the diagonal grouping.

These fresh elements are: the way the Madonna sits,

with one knee higher than the other; the way the Child takes hold of His Mother's dress; her conspicuous hood; and, finally, the curtain.

The first of these motives must have been discovered by a real artist, that is to say, by one whose inventions were inspired not by fancy or fumbling, or caprice, or even by playfulness, but by the impulse to exploit the possibilities of tactile values and movement. Probably it was Giovanni Bellini himself. At all events, no earlier instance is known to me than the one that occurs in his Oldenburg Madonna. In that monumental design (fig. 126), the Great Mother, in order that the action may be quite clearly expressed, sits somewhat sideways, so that the right knee, lifted higher than the other, may serve as a back for the Child reclining between her hands, in her lap. It is a pleasure to penetrate the full sense of this pattern, to understand the creative necessity of every feature, to perceive it as weight and mass, as resistance and support, and at the same time as flesh and bone seeking for satisfaction and repose; and then, finally, to appreciate it as the perfect coalescence of the animate and sentient with the geometrical.

A few years later Giovanni Bellini took up the motive once again, and made of it something delightful, as we see in the Madonna of the National Gallery,¹ but emptied of the primeval grandeur of the first version, and with little to justify the pose. The Child sits on His Mother's right hand, resting however on a knee which seems only accidentally raised, while He plays with an apple in her other hand.

Feeling, perhaps, the failure of this variant, Bellini gave another turn to the idea, which we also find in the National Gallery, where we have the central panel of an altar-piece

¹ Photo Anderson 18010; Berenson, *Venetian Painting in America*, fig. 48; Gronau, *Die Künstlerfamilie Bellini*, fig. 83.



FIG. 123. RAPHAEL: DRAWING

Vienna, Albertina



FIG. 124. RAPHAEL: DRAWING

Lille Museum

(fig. 127), dated October 1489, in which the Child not merely caresses the apple between the Virgin's fingers, but snatches at her hood with His right hand, and thus reinfuses an energy into the design which the last version lacked. It is true that this work is signed by a Cremonese craftsman named Francesco Tacconi; but there can be no doubt that it is a faithful copy of a lost original by Bellini, in all probability of nearly the same date.¹

As Bellini is not our first interest here, we cannot make room in this article, already so overcrowded, to comment adequately on this eventful innovation. It must suffice to observe that, in order to justify the raised knee, the Virgin places her right foot on a sort of box. This arrangement may have been the origin of the stepped parapet which played such a curious part in Venetian design between 1500 and 1525.

To return to our Madonna with the Infant Baptist, if everything else about it pointed to Antonello, it could be argued that such a sovereign genius *might*, out of the blue, have invented this double motive of the Madonna with raised knee and the Child holding on to her dress. Even then, it would be odd to find Bellini decomposing another artist's motive to design the grand Madonna of Oldenburg, only to return to it some years later. In view, however, of all the other evidence that our picture was painted long after Antonello's death, we are justified in assuming that this motive had no connexion with him, but was indeed an idea which sprang from and matured in the mind of Giovanni Bellini alone, and that the painter of our Madonna took it over bodily, although with no sense of its purpose as design. If he had understood it, he would have made the Child cling to His Mother, as Franciabigio did in the Madonna

¹ See Von Hadeln in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, Neue Folge, 23, p. 289, and Berenson, *Venetian Painting in America*, p. 113.

del Pozzo (fig. 120), instead of letting Him pirouette on her knee, at arm's length, so to speak.

Our painter was probably led to scatter the composition in this way by an unfortunate attempt made perhaps by Bellini himself, soon after 1500. For this great Master, who was, even more than Raphael himself, the painter *par excellence* of the Madonna and Child, was continually varying the theme, and once in a great while he threw off by way of experiment a pattern that cannot count among the happiest creations of genius. We may call this particular one 'The Madonna with the Child at Arm's Length'. Now Bellini himself may have fitted such a group in with other figures, so as to make it seem less obviously scattered; and certainly none of the pictures in which this motive occurs exaggerates it to the point reached in our panel. In our panel the Mother is made to lean away from her Offspring, whereas in all the others she leans towards Him.

Of the seven paintings that I recall in which the Child is thus stretching away, six are either by Catena himself or by assistants,¹ which makes one wonder whether we may not, after all, exonerate Bellini from this invention and attribute it instead to Catena. The earliest of them, the one at Liverpool (no. 81, Photo Mansell), is of about 1505, and the date of the motive can scarcely be earlier, whoever contrived it. I am reproducing for choice the well-known drawing in the Albertina (fig. 129). Instead of a constructed, compact, and massive composition, like the Oldenburg Bellini, or the Benson Antonello, it suggests a flat *appliqué*, such as was common here, there, and every-

¹ The six Catenas, including the Liverpool panel mentioned in the text and the Albertina drawing which I have reproduced, are the Raczyński Madonna with the Infant Baptist in Posen, the Madonna with Donors at Modena, a Madonna with the Infant Baptist of which I never knew the fixed abode, and the same subject (a studio version) reproduced in the Bardini Sale Catalogue, London, 1902. The seventh painting is one by Mansueti in the Venice Academy (Photo Anderson 12636).



FIG. 125. RAPHAEL: 'MADONNA DI CASA ALBA'

Petrograd, Hermitage



FIG. 126. GIOVANNI BELLINI: MADONNA
Formerly in Oldenburg Gallery

where during the last five thousand years, intended to adorn something else, rather than to exist in itself as an autonomous entity.¹

In this design, as in many others of the first ten or fifteen years of the sixteenth century in the Veneto and its spiritual dependencies, the hood of the Madonna is unusually voluminous and conspicuous; and this leads me to speak of the kerchief of the Virgin in our picture.

I am not sure of what stuff it is supposed to be made. Considering the folds, which, by the way, are vaguely Antonellesque, as they are in scores of North Italian pictures between 1480 and 1520, one would suppose it to be some rather thick woollen cloth. Whatever the substance, we must imagine it to be a long strip which, after covering the head and setting off the face, is tossed at one end over the shoulder, the other end being pulled through over the chest, like a cravat. Such an arrangement occurs for the first time in several designs by Giovanni Bellini dating between, say, 1483 and 1490, such as the Circumcision (of which there are many versions, one of the best being in the National Gallery, Photo Anderson 18013), the Barbarigo Madonna, dated 1488, at Murano,² and the Madonna against a starred Curtain, in Berlin.³ Then, with variants in folding, we find this scarf or kerchief in Cima (fig. 128), and in most of Bellini's followers till 1510 and later, only that after 1500, instead of coming over the brow, the forehead begins to appear, and finally shows the parting of the hair. We happen to have two dated works in which we can watch this progression. In the Annunciation

¹ Confirmed by Lotto's paintings of this period in the Bridgewater Collection, at S. Cristina near Treviso, at Munich, at Recanati, &c. See my *Lorenzo Lotto*. Compare also a Madonna of the school of Rondinelli in the J. G. Johnson Collection of Philadelphia, no. 151, a picture which has many affinities of design, if not of detail, with our own.

² Gronau, fig. 69.

³ Ibid., fig. 81.

of 1504 at Bergamo by Francesco da Santa Croce (fig. 130) the Blessed Virgin's hair is not only exposed under the hood just as much as in the case of our Madonna, but is combed from the parting in two convex curves instead of forming one arch. In a Madonna by Previtali at Dresden dated 1510 (fig. 131), the hood has climbed considerably higher above her forehead. As the painters of these pictures were in close touch with Venice until that date at least, we may safely accept the evidence of their work, and, to the limited extent that an item of dress suffices by itself to date a picture, we may conclude that our Madonna with the Infant John must have been painted some time between 1503 and 1513.¹

Let the reader have patience! I have nearly done with this kind of evidence. But it is accumulation that tells, and I would like to say a few words now about the curtain hanging in stiff, parallel folds, almost like flutings or corrugations, from the top of our picture to the parapet.

Apparently it was Giovanni Bellini who, towards 1480, introduced the curtain drawn from top to bottom across part of the sky. The purpose was almost certainly to furnish an excuse for painting the figure with all the precision of an object seen in a quiet light indoors, instead of in the dazzling blur of direct sunlight.² It is a purpose that could not have arisen except in the mind of an artist like Bellini, who had not only a great plastic sense but a specifically pictorial sense as well. Piero della Francesca did not feel the problem at all, but placed his Duke and Duchess of Urbino full against the diffused noonday light. Nor did Antonello hesitate to do the same, as we see in the

¹ It is conceivable that the curtain continued the tradition of the *Hortus Conclusus*.

² I venture to invite students to peruse what I have said about Giovanni Bellini in this connexion in my *North Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, Section XIV.



FIG. 127. FRANCESCO TACCONI: MADONNA

London, National Gallery



FIG. 128. CIMA DA CONEGLIANO: MADONNA
Richmond (Surrey), Cook Collection

Benson Madonna, as well as in certain portraits, like the double one in the Lichtenstein Gallery at Vienna,¹ which, because of their almost miniature size, half avoid the absurdity. Once invented, the whole of Northern Italy between the Alps, Apennines, and Adriatic took up the idea of the curtain and exploited it to the full. I doubt, however, whether a single trace of it will be discovered south of Bologna before Raphael towards 1513 adopted it.

But the ingenious painter of our Madonna with the Infant John knew better—genius is less ingenious! He reminds me a little of the quaint people in the establishment of Edgar Allan Poe’s ‘Doctors Tar and Feather’, who, it will be remembered, regarded it as the height of folly to wear their own clothes. Having them on, they could not see and enjoy them, so they displayed their raiment on chairs and tables where it could be suitably admired. And so, it would seem, our painter could not bear to hide his curtain behind the leaning bulk of his Madonna. He displays it instead at one side of the picture, thus defeating, in fact, the purpose for which it was invented, namely to justify the precise portrayal of all the features despite the blurring effect of the diffused light of the landscape. But he built better than he knew, for his stiff, flute-like folds, or rather corrugations, suggest the mass of a Doric column that time has gnawed and defaced. Column calls to column, and before we are aware we are at Paestum, we are at Selinunte, we are at Sunium.

Now a few words about the hands, and the Child’s curls. I have left them to the last, and indeed thought of omitting them altogether, as they too poignantly recall the much-abused methods of so-called ‘Connoisseurship’. None of the hands in our picture have anything in common with

¹ Venturi, *Storia*, vii. 4, figs. 22 and 23.

Antonello's, which are supple, elegant, almost affected, with shapely, conical fingers and thumbs curved back, as we may see in the Benson Madonna and the Munich Virgin Annunciate.¹ Not a trace of these characteristics is to be found in the lumpy hand of our Madonna. It, in its own turn, resembles to a significant degree the hands found in Cristofano Caselli's paintings, as, for instance, the great altar-piece of the Parma Gallery,² and the Epiphany in the Cathedral of the same town. Oddly enough, the short thumbs of both the Children in our picture are nearly matched in Caselli's Madonna and in his St. Catherine with the Baptist (fig. 133), both in the Bergamo Gallery, ascribed there to Girolamo Santacroce. By a curious coincidence, the cloudlets in the last-mentioned panel are astonishingly like those in our picture; and, while I am about it, let me add that in all of Caselli's paintings the folds offer interesting parallels with those in our Madonna's hood.

The Child's hair is the last item I shall mention. As we already saw, these elaborate curls have not the remotest resemblance to those in Antonello. They quite clearly come out of Bellini, in whose works they first appear in 1487 on the heads of the little Angels in the Frari triptych. But in their peculiar elaboration they seem to recall Cima more than Bellini himself, or the late Rondinelli, or, really more than either, certain Basaitis and early Lottos.³ If only we could find a convincing instance in some other painter of curls ending, as these do, in two little strands

¹ Venturi, *op. cit.*, figs. 21 and 20.

² *Ibid.*, fig. 386.

³ E. g. Rondinelli, Walters' Collection (Berenson, *Venetian Painting in America*, fig. 88), Basaiti, 'St. Sebastian and Donor', Aix-en-Provence, no. 494, Lotto at Recanatì, and Bergamo (see my *Lorenzo Lotto*, and fig. 103 in this article, reproducing the portrait in Bergamo).



FIG. 129. CATENA: DRAWING, MADONNA AND INFANT JOHN
Vienna, Albertina



FIG. 130. FRANCESCO DA SANTA CROCE: ANNUNCIATION
Bergamo, Carrara Gallery

that cross and curve towards each other again like pincers, we should be close on the track of the real author of our Madonna. I have found nowhere else a head covered entirely with such curls as we have here, but, unexpectedly, I discovered one such curl on the head of a St. James formerly in the Crespi Collection at Milan (fig. 132); and this picture, too, happens to be by Cristofano Caselli of Parma.

VI

We could carry our analysis a good deal farther, but quite enough has been done to prove that the Madonna with the Infant Baptist, which has been the subject of this lengthy examination, could not possibly have been designed by Antonello da Messina; that it could not in any probability have been painted before 1500, while most likely it should be dated some five or seven, ten or twelve years later; and that its author was a follower of Giovanni Bellini, in the sense that all the painters of Venetia Major at that time were. I venture to add that he seems to me to have been a provincial.

It would be a triumph which I should whole-heartedly enjoy if I could, with conclusive evidence, point to the real author of our picture. That I cannot do, for I do not know another work close enough to this one to leave no doubt about the identity of the painter of both. And to search for him with the magic, occult methods of connoisseurship, after the clear, sunbright, fool-proof methods of archaeology, is distasteful, and all the more so as exact connoisseurship depends upon infinitesimalities which no reproduction can reveal. Now I have not seen the original of our picture, and even the best of reproductions cannot so much as offer absolutely satisfactory guarantees that the

original is a genuine old picture and not a recent fake; still less can it furnish conclusive evidence leading to the identification of an obscure Master.

In pursuits like ours, which should be as disinterested and gentle as human nature will permit, the results of an article such as this, besides giving a certain pleasure to those who enjoy the kind of mental activity spent upon it, should serve the more important purpose of facilitating, and, shall I say, rationalizing further research.

Among the by-products of this essay are the following generalizations, which can henceforth be used, like all proper deductions, as labour-saving tools:

(1) A *Quattrocento* picture in which the Infant Baptist occurs is Florentine or Perugian.¹

¹ In an article in *L'Arte* (November–December, 1923, p. 12), Prof. Leonello Venturi has been able to cite but one exception to this rule. It is in the Isabella Gardner Museum at Boston in a picture by Mantegna. This painting is, however, not a Madonna and Child with the Infant John, but a 'Heilige Sippe', 'St. Anne and her Descendants', a subject rarely treated in Italy but a great favourite in Germany, where the Infant John appears only as the child of St. Elizabeth. In this capacity he may be found as early as the thirteenth century, as, for instance, in an altar frontal in the Siena gallery. But this Mantegna, which, by the way, I have discussed at some length in my *Venetian Painting in America* (New York, 1916, pp. 54–58), is not one about which I am entirely happy. I may be permitted to quote what I said at the end of that discussion: 'I leave the picture with the feeling that I should like to say a good deal more about it, but not before it had been submitted to a scrupulously honest and adequately competent cleaning away of perhaps quite recent restoration. What remained would necessarily be convincing, and might cease to be so perplexing.' I am, as a matter of fact, not at all sure that the Infant John would remain, at least with the action and expression he has here. If he did, it would prove that Mantegna, one of the greatest geniuses of all times, was not slow in adopting an invention of another great genius, for surely the little Baptist in this Boston picture is but a variant of the one in the Virgin of the Rocks. So it would be at least six years after Antonello's death that Mantegna, snatching at an idea of Leonardo's, inserted the Infant John into a composition—not a Madonna, be it noted, but a Santa Conversazione—in which he would have had to appear as the adjunct of his mother, in any case, although without Leonardo's example he would probably not have played the same independent role. However that was, even Mantegna's authority could not impose the motive, and it seems never to occur again in the Veneto before 1500.



FIG. 131. PREVITALI; MADONNA WITH INFANT JOHN
Dresden Gallery

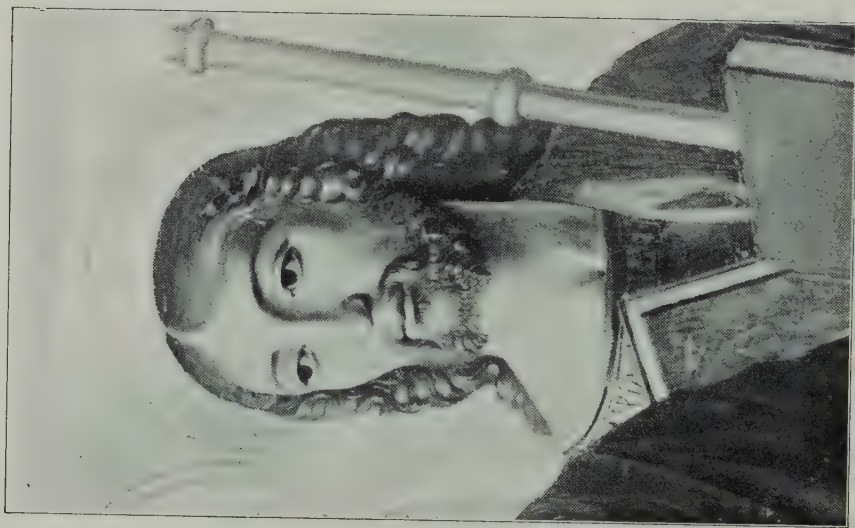


FIG. 132. CRISTOFANO DA PARMA: ST. JAMES.
Detail from a panel formerly in the Crespi Collection, Milan



FIG. 133. CRISTOFANO DA PARMA: THE BAPTIST
Detail from panel in the Carrara Gallery, Bergamo

(2) A picture containing a reed Cross is not earlier than the last decade of the fifteenth century.¹

(3) A Madonna deliberately leaning back, away from the Child, so as to form a diagonal group, is not found in the fifteenth century.

(4) A picture in which a curtain is drawn across a considerable portion of the sky—not merely a strip hanging behind the central figure such as the Van Eycks were apparently the first to use, but draped across the whole height of the sky from one side to the other, and serving to screen the principal figures from the full light of the landscape—is little, if at all, earlier than 1480, and is probably Venetian, or possibly Lombard, Emilian, or Ferrarese, but certainly not Central or South Italian.

As less important but still useful results, we may point to the following conclusions:

(5) The introduction of the curtain as a screen against the light was due to Giovanni Bellini and was made towards 1480.

(6) Bellini, also about 1480, invented the motive of the Madonna with one knee raised, and then, seven or eight years later, that of the Child balancing Himself by grasping her garment. This double motive, by the way, never became a favourite, although it is occasionally found till towards 1550.

(7) The universal use of a curtain as a screen was due to Raphael, who probably adopted it, let me here add, in imitation of Sebastiano del Piombo, towards 1512 or so;

¹ In the same article in *L'Arte* (November–December, 1923, p. 12), the writer cites a 'croce di canna' (reed Cross) held by the Baptist in Piero della Francesca's polyptych at Borgo San Sepolcro, painted in 1448, and argues from this that 'the archaeological method does not always give sure results'. This one exception, the only one he is able to quote, would seem to prove my rule, for it turns out that the 'reed Cross' in question is not a Cross at all but a thick staff nearly as tall as himself on which the adult Baptist leans, as we so often see St. Christopher leaning on his staff.

and the equally frequent presence of the Infant Baptist in later works was also due to Raphael.

I trust that these few fixed points brought out by this article, which cannot be affected by the caprice or taste of the individual connoisseur, too long considered as the sole arbiter in these matters, may serve as the outline of a method designed to keep us within the bounds of historical probability.

March, 1923.



APPENDIX

THE INFANT JOHN IN VENETIAN PAINTING

FOR the sake of completeness, I append a list of Venetian pictures in which we find the Infant Baptist.

MANSUETI, in the Castle of S. Salvatore at Colalto (destroyed during the Great War): The Virgin kneels in prayer, the Child plays with the Rosary, Joseph sits pensive, and in the very foreground the Infant Baptist between a lamb and a ram appeals vehemently to I don't know what.

UNKNOWN FOLLOWER OF CIMA, about 1510, at Douai: Madonna with Zachariah and Elizabeth (or Simeon and Anne). The Child stretches out His hand towards the little Baptist.

ANTONIO SOLARIO, in the National Gallery (formerly Leuchtenberg and Salting Collections), dating about 1505-8 (Reinach, *Répertoire*, iv. 463). Here the two Children, with the Virgin between them, play with a bird.

LORENZO LOTTO, at Naples, dated 1503: The Infant Christ blesses the little Baptist. *Idem*, in Collection of Count Sigismund Puslowski at Cracow, reproduced in my *Lorenzo Lotto*, second edition, opp. p. 15. Here the Child is fast asleep. Date about 1508.

FRANCESCO DI SIMONE DA SANTA CROCE (see my *Venetian Painting in America*, p. 130): The Child blesses the Infant Baptist. Date about 1505.

CATENA, in the Raczynski Collection at Posen, about 1508 (see my *Venetian Painting in America*, p. 132, and note on p. 122). *Idem*, three versions, one in the Venice Academy (Photo Anderson 11572); another in the Benson Collection in London (see Catalogue); and the third in the E. P. Warren Collection at Lewes, usually ascribed to Marco Belli as copies of a lost original by Catena, in which the Child, sitting on His Mother's lap, blesses the little Baptist. The motive is thus the same as in ours ascribed to Antonello, only that Catena must have designed his thirty and more years after Antonello's death.

BASAITI, Collection of the late M. Schloss of Paris (now dispersed), about 1510 (see my *Venetian Painting in America*, p. 136; Reinach, *Répertoire*, iv. 455).

PIETRO DE INGANNATIS, at Budapest (Hanfstaengl, no. 270): The Holy Child caresses the Infant Baptist. About 1510.

BARTOLOMMEO VENETO, in the Ambrosiana, Milan (Reinach, *Répertoire*, iv. 460): The Child plays with the hair of the Infant John.

FOLLOWER OF RONDINELLI, in the Johnson Collection of Philadelphia, Plate 151 of Catalogue), about 1510. Here the Child turns on His seat, almost as in our Madonna.

PREVITALI, at Dresden, dated 1510.

LATTANZIO DA RIMINI, belonging in 1908 to Herr Ulrich Jaeger of Genoa: The Infant Baptist kneels before the basket-crib, behind which appear Mary and Joseph.

BENEDETTO DIANA (Venice, Alinari, 1336): The Infant John is almost surreptitiously introduced into a 'Madonna with a female Saint'. *Idem*, at Oldenburg, no. 84 (Photo Onken). The Child, sprawling in the lap of His Mother, caresses the little Baptist, who rides on his lamb. The Madonna reclines on the ground with Anthony Abbot and Joseph on her right. This Catena-Palmesque work used to be ascribed to Bellini.

INDEX

INDEX OF ARTISTS

- Andrea del Sarto, 84, 99, 107 n.
 Ansuino da Forlì, 60.
 Antonello da Messina, 42, 45, and Essay III, 87-130, Figs. 92, 95, 96, 98, 99, 102,
Attributed to, Essay III, Part 2, 92-130, Fig. 100.
 Antoniazio, 41.
 Antonio da Viterbo, 79, Fig. 80.
 Antonio de' Saliba, 90, 91, 96, 115 n., Fig. 97.

 Badile, 39-40, Fig. 20.
 Baldovinetti, Alesso, 51, 52.
 Bartolommeo, Fra, 99, 109.
 Bartolommeo Veneto, 133.
 Basaiti, 55, 112, 126, 133.
Pseudo-B., 100.
 Bellini, Gentile, 33, 34, 36, 49, 63-7, Fig. 67.
 Giovanni, 30 n., 57, 64, 65, 90, 96-8, 100, 120-4, 126, 127, 129, Figs. 29, 101, 126.
 Jacopo, 20, 24, 50, 52, 64.
 Belliniano, 20, Fig. 15.
 Benaglio, 36, 40, 53, 54, 58-60, 62, Fig. 54.
 Benedetto da Maiano, 81 n.
 Benozzo Gozzoli, 8, 38, 41, Fig. 32.
 Benvenuto di Giovanni, 41.
 Bianchi, 34.
 Bissolo, 55.
 Boccatis, 45.
 Boltraffio, 64, 111.
 Bonsignori, 30 n.
 Botticelli, 25 and Essay II, 75-84, 106, 107, Figs. 72, 73, 74, 85, 86, 90, 91, 112.
 Studio of, 81-4, Figs. 108, 109, 110, 111.
 Workshop of, 81-4, Figs. 87, 88, 89.
 Botticini, 103, 104, 107, Figs. 105, 112.
 Bramantino, 36.
 Brusasorci, 36.
 Bugiardini, 24, 99.
 Butinone, 36, 41, 57, Fig. 62.

 Canaletto, 51.
 Caporali, 78.
 Caracci, the, 84.
 Cariani, 55, 64.
 Carotto, 36, 64.
 Carpaccio, 49, 64.
 Caselli, Cristofano, 126, 127, Fig. 132.
 Castagno, 42, 76, 79.
 Catalan Painter, 8, Fig. 20.
 Catalan-Valencian Painter, 44 nn. 1 and 2, Fig. 10.
 Catena, 122, 133, Fig. 129.
 Cavazzola, 69.
 Cesare da Sesto, 111.
 Cézanne, 64.
 Cima da Conegliano, 20, 96, 123, Figs. 13, 128.
 Follower of, 133.
 Correggio, 64.
 Cossa, 28, 30, 31, 41, 44, 45, 48 n., 49 n.
 School of, 34, 57, Fig. 42.
 Costa, 32-3 n.
 Credi, 108, 109, Figs. 117, 118.
 Cristofano da Lendinara, 61.
 Crivelli, 56.

 Degas, 64.
 Desiderio, 102.
 Diana, Benedetto, 134.

- Domenico di Bartolo, 3 n.
 Domenico Veneziano, 25, 51-2, 102 n.,
 Fig. 26.
 Donatello, 28, 42, 102.

 Egyptian Early Empire sculptor, 88-9,
 Fig. 93.
 Ercole Roberti, 28, 40, 63, Fig. 28.

 Filippino Lippi, 78, 99, 107, 112, Figs.
 76, 77, 78, 79, 114.
 Filippo Lippi, Fra, 103, 107.
 Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, 78.
 Florentine Painter close to Master of
 Carrand Altar-piece, 43 n., Fig. 43.
 Foppa, 41.
 Francesco di Giorgio, 30.
 Francia, Francesco, 111, 115 n.
 Franciabigio, 99, 115-17, Fig. 120.

 Garbo, Raffaellino del, 77, 99, 107, Fig.
 78.
 Garofani, Pittore del Cespo di, 53, 57 n.
 Ghirlandajo, Domenico, 25, 41, 44,
 102 n., 109, Fig. 27.
 School of, 107, Fig. 113.
 Gianpietrino, 111.
 Giorgione, 64, 97.
 Giotto, 29.
 Girolamo da Cremona, 34, 37, 41, Fig.
 41.
 Girolamo dai Libri, 23, 39, 40, 56, Figs.
 25, 39.
 Granacci, 31.
 Guido Reni, 93.

 Ingannatis, Pietro di, 133.

 Jacobello, 91, 96.

 Lattanzio da Rimini, 134.
 Lazzaro Bastiani, 20, Fig. 16.
 Leonardo da Vinci, 29, 41, 64, 95, 98,
 101, 103-9, 112, 128 n., Figs. 104,
 116.
 Liberale, 20, 21, 27, 34, 36, 37, 40,
 42, Figs. 19, 21, 37.
 Licinio, Bernardino, 64.

Lombard School, 47, 51.
 Lorenzo da Viterbo, 43.
 Lotto, Lorenzo, 68, 97 n., 115 n., 123 n.,
 126 n., 133, Fig. 103.
 Luini, 111.

 Magnasco, 51 n.
 Mainardi, 109, Fig. 119.
 Mansueti, 122 n., 133.
 Mantegna, 24, 26, 28, 30 n., 33, 35,
 37-41, 49 n., 56, 57, 60, 64, 65,
 89, 128 n., Fig. 33.
 Marco Belli, 112, 133.
 Masaccio, 60.
 Matteo da Pasti, 49 n.
 Mazzola, Filippo, 111.
 Mazzolino, 111.
 Michelangelo, 66, 103, 115, Fig. 122.
 Michele da Verona, 27 n., 55, 69.
 Mino da Fiesole, 102.
 Montagna, Bartolommeo, 27 n., 64.
 Montagnana, 24, 27, Fig. 24.
 Moroncini, 71.
 Morone, Domenico, *Essay I passim*, 1-
 71, Frontispiece, Figs. 1-9, 17, 34,
 38, 44-50, 55-61, 63-6, 69-71.
 Francesco, 22, 27, 39, 50, 56, 69,
 Figs. 22, 23.
 Murano, Antonio and Giovanni, 20.

 Neroccio, 41.
 Niccolò da Verona, 41.

 Oggiono, 106-7.

 Palladio, 24.
 Palma Vecchio, 64.
 Perugia, Author of San Bernardino
 panels, 30, 31, 43, 52.
 Perugino, 41, 56, 78, 79, 107 n., 110,
 Figs. 81, 82, 83, 84.
 Pheidias, 89.
 Pier di Cosimo, 99, 103, 108, 112, Fig.
 115.
 Follower of, 105, Fig. 107.
 Piero della Francesca, 24, 56, 89 n.,
 90, 124, 129 n.

- Pietro de' Saliba, 91.
 Pintoricchio, 31-3, 78, 99, 110.
 Piombo, Sebastiano del, 64, 66, 129.
 Pisanello, 49 n., 59.
 Pollajuolo, Pietro, 34, 57, Fig. 31.
 Pordenone, 64.
 Previtali, 124, 134, Fig. 131.

 Raphael, 64, 109-12, 115, 116, 125,
 129, 130, Figs. 123, 124, 125.
 Renoir, 64.
 Rondinelli, 126 n.
 Followers of, 134.
 Rosselli, Cosimo, *Followers of*, 104-5,
 Fig. 106.
 Rossellino, 102.

 Sammichele, 24.
 Sansovino, 24.
 Santa Croce, Francesco da, 124, 133,
 Fig. 130
 Girolamo di, 126.
 Schiavone, Gregorio, 41, 56.
 Sellajo, Jacopo del, 102 n., 103.
 Signorelli, Luca, 32, 49, 89 n., 115,
 Fig. 121.

 Sodoma, 42, 111.
 Solario, Andrea, 111.
 Antonio, 133.
 Squarcione, 41, 49 n., 89.

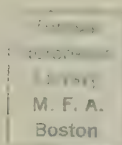
 Tacconi, 120, 121, Fig. 127.
 Tamaroccio, 111.
 Tintoretto, 24, 64.
 Titian, 20, 24, 64, Fig. 14.
 'Tommaso', 107.
 Traini, 8.
 Tura, 28, 50 n.

 Van Eycks and Followers, 100, 129.
 Velasquez, 90.
 Veronese, 20, 24, 38, 40, 64, 90, Fig.
 18.
 Verrocchio, 76, 79, 107.
 Vivarini, Alvise, 65.
 the, 36.

 Whistler, 29.

 Zaganelli, Francesco, 45.
 Zenale, 57, Fig. 62.
 Zoppo, Marco, 41, Fig. 40.

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